

THE ANGLICAN CHURCH IN DELAWARE

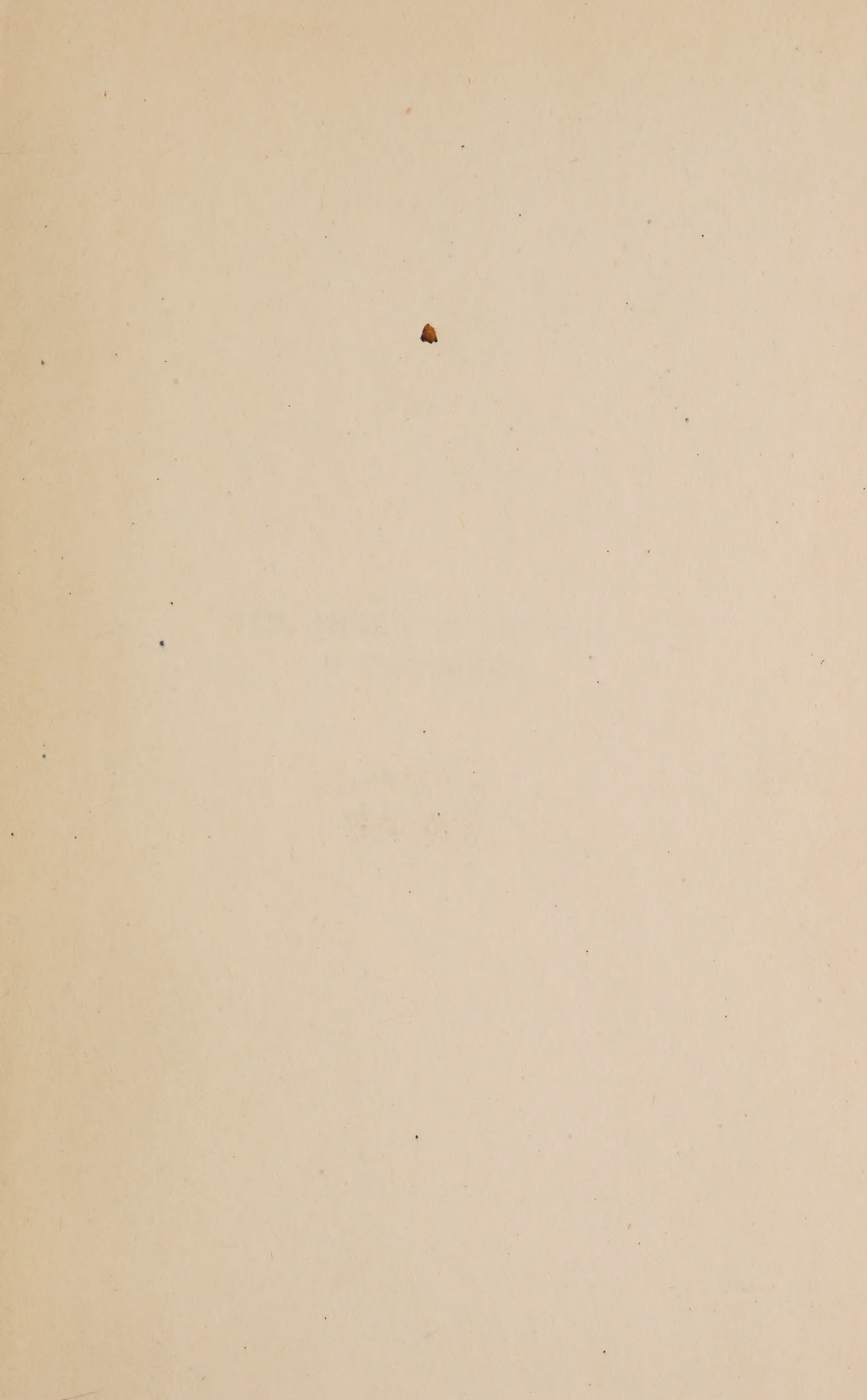


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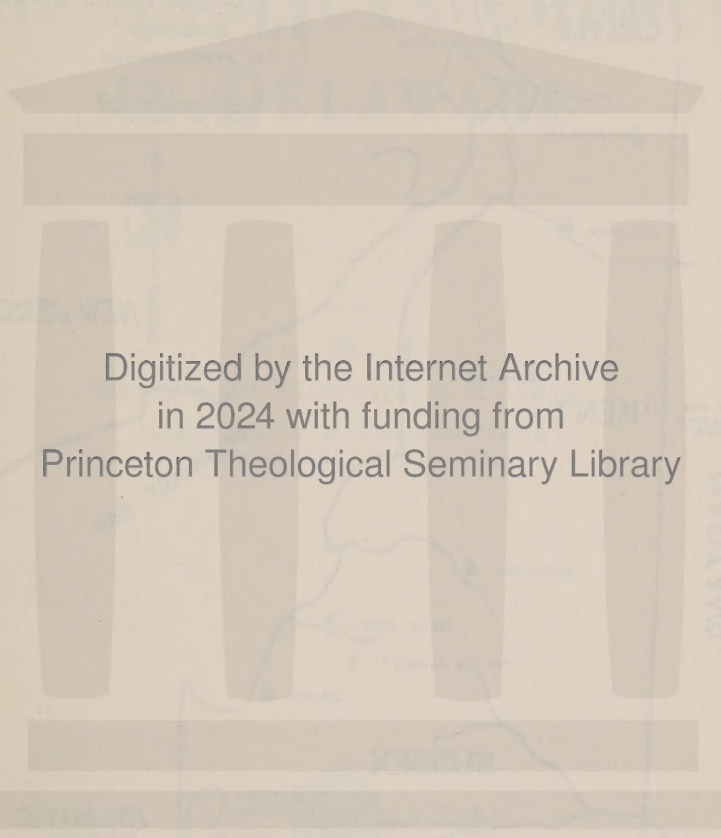


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


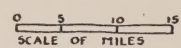
THE ANGLICAN CHURCH
IN DELAWARE



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CHESTER

MARCUS
HOOK

ST. JAMES'

NEW
CASTLE

OLD SWEDES'

NEW CASTLE

APPOQUINIMY

DUCK CREEK

DOVER

"NEAR THE
MARYLAND
BORDER"

KENT

MARYLAND

DELAWARE BAY

MISPILLION

CEDAR CREEK

"IN THE FOREST"

LEWES

SUSSEX

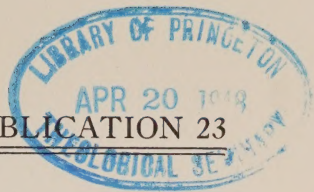
BROAD CREEK

INDIAN
RIVER
HUNDRED

DACSBORO

ATLANTIC
OCEAN





CHURCH HISTORICAL SOCIETY PUBLICATION 23

THE ANGLICAN CHURCH IN DELAWARE

By

NELSON WAITE RIGHTMYER, A. M., Ed. D.

*Assistant Professor of Ecclesiastical History
The Divinity School in Philadelphia*



PHILADELPHIA

THE CHURCH HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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TO E. A. R.

WHOSE PATIENCE MADE
THIS STUDY POSSIBLE

PREFACE

OF all the creatures on earth, apparently man alone is interested in his beginnings. Our forefathers of ages ago, who strove with the questions of where, and when, and how, and why of man's beginnings, were the source of all we know of history. Had man not been so curious about his origins, would we have had the stories of Genesis, the Beginning? And the interesting thing is that man is insatiably curious about all sorts of things. Not only does he seek to know about such important questions as the source of light and heat, of the origin of the soul, of his early relationships with his fellow man, but he also wants to know about the first flag-pole sitter, the first man to cross the Atlantic in an eighteen foot boat, and the first hog caller to be heard three miles away.

Somewhere between these extremes this account should be classified, for it too is a story of firsts. Here you will find the first priest of the Church of England to officiate in the present state of Delaware. The first churchmen to practice Church unity, the first attempts to cope with the problems of assimilating the Negro and of providing educational facilities, the first congregations to organize the present Protestant Episcopal Church in the state of Delaware, are all here.

Sometimes the tale is heart-warming, of good men and true who strove under adverse conditions to bring the Gospel to an ignorant and self-seeking people. Sometimes it is pathetic—when the priest turns self-seeking and forgets his calling, but it is all here. Based upon contemporary documents in most cases, this study tells of the growth of the English Church transplanted to American soil. Here are our beginnings, good and bad alike.

A man's thinking and interests are more than the total of his own experiences. He grows out of the multitudinous experiences of others, each one of which has influenced him in some way. To whom, then, should I acknowledge my gratitude, seeing that this work has been finally brought to completion? Certainly to a father who on bright Sunday afternoons took long jaunts to the spots where William Penn first set foot in Pennsylvania, where Mad Anthony Wayne drilled his troops after the battle of Brandywine, where our forefathers met to deliberate and to draw up the fundamental documents which gave birth and stability to our nation.

Yet those long forgotten instructors, who made the printed accounts of those events live, deserve their thanks as well. So too the many professors of university and seminary, who gave of their time

and interest beyond what could reasonably be expected of them to encourage a fledgling in his first attempts to write of these events, deserve more than the small appreciation I can show them, for all have in some way influenced the final result of this study.

One of the joys, perhaps the greatest, in searching for materials in the field of history is the kindness and interest shown by attendants in libraries and historical societies. As you read these pages you will find references to a number of such institutions. The attendants of all of them have been most helpful in searching out obscure and little used reference works to add some bit of information which has increased the fulness of the account.

Three men should be mentioned specifically, for without their encouragement and interest, this study might not have reached its conclusion at this time. To Dr. Anson E. Morse and Dr. Ralph Dornfeld Owen of Temple University, and to the Rev. Vincent Fowler Pottle of the Divinity School in Philadelphia, I am especially grateful.

The Rev. Dr. Walter H. Stowe has been unstinting in his assistance in seeing the manuscript through the press, and the Rev. Dr. G. MacLaren Brydon has given of his time in reading proof. My wife has assisted in preparing the index. This acknowledgment of their help is small thanks indeed for their kindness.

Portions of the chapter on the relations of Churchmen, Lutherans and Methodists have appeared in *CHURCH HISTORY*, the journal of the American Society of Church History.

NELSON WAITE RIGHTMYER

Lent, 1947

TABLE OF CONTENTS

<i>Chapter</i>	<i>Page</i>
TITLE PAGE.....	v
PREFACE.....	ix
INTRODUCTION.....	1
 I. THE NEW CASTLE MISSION.....	 5
FIRST ANGLICAN CLERGY.....	5
THE REV. GEORGE ROSS (1679-1754).....	7
DIFFICULTIES OF ROSS AND JENKINS.....	9
THE REV. ROBERT SINCLAIRE.....	14
THE REV. JACOB HENDERSON.....	16
THE RETURN OF GEORGE ROSS.....	18
GEORGE ROSS' SUCCESSORS.....	21
THE REV. AENEAS ROSS (1716-1782).....	22
THE REV. CHARLES HENRY WHARTON (1748-1833).....	25
THE REV. ROBERT CLAY (1749-1831).....	30
 II. THE MISSION AT APPOQUINIMY.....	 32
BEGINNINGS UNDER THE REV. THOMAS JENKINS.....	32
TROUBLE WITH THE REV. ALEXANDER CAMPBELL.....	34
THE REV. WALTER HACKETT AND THE NEW MARRIAGE LAW.....	37
THE REV. JOHN PUGH.....	39
LONG MINISTRY OF THE REV. PHILIP READING.....	39
 III. THE KENT MISSION.....	 44
THE REV. THOMAS CRAWFORD AND HIS DIFFICULTIES.....	44
APPOINTMENT OF THE REV. JACOB HENDERSON.....	49
RETURN OF CRAWFORD.....	50
THE REV. GEORGE FRAZER.....	52
THE REV. ARTHUR USSHER.....	52
THE REV. THEOPHILUS MORRIS.....	53
THE REV. THOMAS BLUETT.....	54
THE REV. HUGH NEILL.....	55
THE FAITHFUL MINISTRY OF THE REV. CHARLES INGLIS.....	56
THE REV. SAMUEL MAGAW.....	61
MAGAW AND THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.....	63
THE REV. SAMUEL ROE AND THE METHODISTS.....	65
THE REV. SYDENHAM THORNE AND THE MISPELLION MISSION.....	66

<i>Chapter</i>	<i>Page</i>
IV. THE SUSSEX MISSION.....	68
THE REV. WILLIAM BLACK.....	68
THE FRUITFUL MINISTRY OF WILLIAM BECKET.....	72
THE REV. ARTHUR USSHER.....	79
ITINERANT MINISTRIES.....	81
THE REV. AARON CLEVELAND.....	82
THE REV. JOHN ANDREWS.....	85
THE REV. JOHN LYON.....	87
THE REV. SAMUEL TINGLEY AND THE REVOLUTION.....	89
POST-REVOLUTIONARY CLERGY.....	92
APPENDIX: NOTE ON PRINCE GEORGE'S AND BROAD CREEK CHURCHES.....	93
V. CHURCHMEN, LUTHERANS AND METHODISTS.....	96
I. RELATIONS WITH THE SWEDISH LUTHERANS.....	96
THE SWEDISH CLERGY AND THEIR MINISTRY TO ENGLISH CHURCHES.....	98
FIRST ANGLICAN RECTOR OF OLD SWEDES' CHURCH.....	106
AMALGAMATION OF THE SWEDISH AND EPISCOPAL CHURCHES.....	109
II. RELATIONS WITH THE METHODISTS.....	110
WHITEFIELD AND THE CLERGY IN DELAWARE.....	111
RELATIONS BETWEEN ASBURY AND DELAWARE CHURCHMEN.....	116
THE SCHISM COMPLETED.....	120
VI. SUPPORT OF THE CLERGY.....	122
SALARY REGULATIONS OF THE S. P. G.....	122
LACK OF LOCAL SUPPORT.....	124
MARYLAND AND VIRGINIA STIPENDS.....	128
OTHER MEANS OF SUPPORT.....	128
THE CORPORATION FOR THE RELIEF OF WIDOWS AND CHILDREN OF CLERGYMEN.....	131
HIGH COST OF LIVING DURING THE REVOLUTION.....	133
MISSION GLEBES.....	133
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION.....	136
VII. THE CONGREGATIONS, THEIR CHURCHES AND SERVICES.....	138
PROPORTION OF CHURCHMEN IN THE POPULATION.....	138
MANY BAPTISMS AND FEW COMMUNICANTS.....	139
CHURCH SILVER.....	141
CHURCH ARCHITECTURE.....	143
THE NEW CASTLE CHURCH.....	145
ST. JAMES' CHURCH, WHITECLAY CREEK.....	146
ST. ANNE'S CHURCH, APPOQUINIMY.....	146
DUCK CREEK CHURCH.....	148
THE DOVER CHURCH.....	149
SUSSEX COUNTY CHURCHES.....	150
VESTMENTS AND USAGES.....	151

<i>Chapter</i>	<i>Page</i>
VIII. CHURCHMEN AND EDUCATION.....	153
INITIAL ENGLISH PROVISIONS FOR EDUCATION.....	153
EDUCATIONAL POLICY OF THE S. P. G.....	155
PAROCHIAL LIBRARIES AND BOOKS.....	156
PREACHING AND CATECHIZATION.....	158
EVANGELIZATION OF THE NEGRO.....	160
SCHOOLMASTERS AND CLERICAL TUTORING.....	162
THE WILMINGTON ACADEMY.....	164
IX. THROUGH REVOLUTION TO INDEPENDENCE.....	167
DIVIDED SYMPATHIES OF BOTH CLERGY AND LAITY.....	167
CONDUCT OF THE DELAWARE CLERGY.....	169
TITLES TO CHURCH PROPERTY.....	172
REPRESENTATION OF THE LAITY.....	174
COLONIAL CONVENTIONS OF THE CLERGY.....	174
POST-REVOLUTIONARY INTERSTATE MEETINGS AND GENERAL CON- VENTIONS.....	178
DELAWARE DIOCESAN CONVENTIONS.....	181
EPILOGUE.....	185
THE SEAL OF THE S. P. G.....	186
APPENDICES.....	187
I. INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE CLERGY EMPLOYED BY THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS.....	187
II. A CATALOGUE OF THE MISSIONARIES' LIBRARY.....	191
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	195
INDEX.....	210

CONCERNING ILLUSTRATIONS

Unfortunately many of the old churches mentioned in this work have disappeared, and we can reconstruct their appearance only from imagination. A few, however, remain. These have become such historical landmarks that they have served as illustrations in many works having to do with Delaware history. I have felt that the reproduction of them in this book would be a work of supererogation. A partial list of such illustrations is, however, appended, to facilitate the work of those who may be interested in pictures of some of the men and churches which I have mentioned. The full title of the work referred to will be found in the Bibliography.

THE CHURCHES

- APPOQUINIMY, St. Anne's Church:
 Bennett, 36, 37.
 Conrad, II: 762.
- BROAD CREEK, Christ Church:
 Delaware Guide, 515.
 Conrad, II: 735.
 Bennett, 26, 27.
- DOVER, Christ Church:
 Lydekker, 22.
- KENT COUNTY, Barratt's Chapel:
 Conrad, II: 664.
 Delaware Guide, 373.
- LEWES, St. Peter's Church:
 Turner, 268.
 Turner, 295 (for Communion Plate)
- NEW CASTLE, Immanuel Church:
 Conrad, II: 512.
 Bennett, 39, 40.
 Delaware Guide, 241.
Historical Magazine, XII (1943), 367.
 Holcomb, *frontispiece*.
- WHITE CLAY CREEK (STANTON), St. James' Church:
 Bennett, 35.
 Conrad, II: 482.
- WILMINGTON, Holy Trinity Church (Old Swedes'):
 Conrad, I: 309.
 Bennett, 17-24.
 Conrad, II: 747.
 Scharf, II: 705.
 Delaware Guide, 277 and 280 (for Communion Plate, 281).
 Records of Holy Trinity Church, *frontispiece*.
 Waterston, 22.

THE MEN

- THE REV. ISRAEL ACRELIUS:
 Scharf, I: 157.
 Old Swedes' Church.
- THE REV. JOHN ANDREWS:
 Turner, 235.
 St. Peter's Church, Lewes.
- THE REV. FRANCIS ASBURY:
 Scharf, II: 716.
- THE REV. ERIC BJORK:
 Conrad, I: 309.
 Old Swedes' Church.
- THE REV. NICHOLAS COLLIN:
Annals of the Swedes, 118.
- THE RT. REV. CHARLES INGLIS:
 Lydekker, *frontispiece*.
- THE REV. GEORGE ROSS:
Historical Magazine, XII (1943), 367.
- THE REV. SAMUEL TINGLEY:
 Library of the Church Historical Society; St. Peter's Church, Lewes.

INTRODUCTION

NO one living in the Delaware River Valley can escape the effects of the eighteenth century on his present manner of living. On every side he finds himself faced with tangible results of the past which have an influence upon what he does today. To some, seeking a fast route through the older sections of our cities and towns, or hunting a parking space on a busy day, this effect may seem like the dead hand of the past, for the narrow alleys we perforce call streets and the close-packed buildings were not adapted to modern motor travel.

Others, looking at the homes and public buildings beautiful in their classic simplicity, can find within themselves the ability to overlook the fact that modern lighting, heating and plumbing are lacking. Such inconveniences can be ignored, for these people recognize our buildings as evidences that many of our modes of thought and our present institutions are what they are because of the men and women who built and inhabited the old structures.

So too in our churches. All along the Delaware we find these eighteenth century edifices which we delight to call "Old Swedes Church", "Old Prince George's", "Old St. Anne's." When, however, we have tried to learn something of the historical details of the churches within the bounds of the present state of Delaware, and when we would know of the men and women who worshipped in them, of the pastors who served them, the task has not been easy. Earlier investigators found this a difficult problem. In 1906 Edgar Dawson reported to the American Historical Association that "there is probably no State in the Union where one would find less material for writing its history than in Delaware, and there is certainly no one of the original thirteen in which so few records have been made."¹

Since that statement was made a great amount of work has been done on the public records of the state, but nothing has been done to bring to the average reader any account of the Church of England within the Lower Counties.² There have been pamphlets written

¹"Public Archives of Delaware", American Historical Association *Report*, 1906, pp. 129-148.

²The area included in the present state of Delaware was known in colonial times as the "Lower Counties." In 1674, by the treaty of Westminster, the "three counties on the Delaware" finally became part of the English possessions in America and were granted to the duke of York (later James II) by Charles II. In 1682 the former deeded them to William Penn, who, in 1691, appointed a special deputy governor for the "Lower Counties." In 1693 they were reunited with the "Province" of Pennsylvania, but they secured a separate legislature in 1704, and a separate executive council in 1710. The governor of Pennsylvania, however, was the chief executive until 1776.

Maryland at first claimed the whole of Delaware under Lord Baltimore's charter, and a protracted boundary dispute ensued which was not settled until 1767, when the present line separating Maryland and Delaware was adopted.

about individual churches, and some attempt has been made to bring out many of the facts in sets of several volumes of histories of Delaware; but when one begins to compare the accounts he is forced to the conclusion that most of these articles were written by untrained historians who oftentimes accepted hearsay for history, or else repeated secondary sources without too great discrimination. No account has been written about the whole group of these congregations of the Church of England as a unit.

Some of the accounts written about individual congregations have been careful studies, but of the three so written, all are now out of print and are therefore difficult to consult. The Rev. Israel Acrelius served Holy Trinity Church, Christina, from 1749 to 1755, and upon returning to Sweden wrote his *History of New Sweden* which was translated into English in 1874. In 1890 Thomas Holcomb published his *Early Ecclesiastical Affairs in New Castle, Delaware, and History of Immanuel Church*. Both of these are careful studies and valuable pieces of work, but many items of interest have been uncovered since they were written, and neither tells much more than is of interest concerning the individual congregation. In 1909 Dr. C. H. B. Turner, one of my predecessors in Lewes, published *Some Records of Sussex County, Delaware*. Dr. Turner gathered a wealth of material from original sources, but it was so poorly arranged and so lacking in documentation, that it is often difficult to use. It was in checking his references that I first became interested in this whole problem.

Dawson was, on the whole, correct in saying that source material for the history of Delaware is difficult to find within the state. This is so because many outside influences were at work within the territories prior to our independence. As one goes beyond our own borders, material becomes more abundant. This is true in ecclesiastical history as well as in secular history. Some of the records of the parishes survive in the original and are to be found in Delaware, but part of the present state was for a long time within the boundaries of Maryland, and the material for at least two of our parishes must be sought there. The rest of the state was under the government of the Penns, and much material is to be found within the sources of Pennsylvania history.

The great bulk of the sources for the history of the Episcopal Church in Delaware prior to the Revolution is to be found in the letters written to the bishop of London and to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (commonly called the S. P. G.) by the clergy who served the missions within the present state.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the bishop of London was the ecclesiastical superior for all clergymen of the Church of England who were serving in the New World, and in the archives of the bishops of London are to be found many of our sources. They are also to be found in the archives of the Venerable Society, as the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was properly called. The Venerable Society was organized at the beginning of the eighteenth century in order to provide missionaries to serve among the emigrant English within the bounds of all British possessions. Every missionary sent out by this society was required to make at least semi-annual reports of his missions and his activities, and these reports have been preserved.

In 1851 the Church Historical Society³ published a few of these letters from the S. P. G. archives and from those of Fulham Palace, the residence of the bishops of London. In 1878 Bishop William Stevens Perry published many more of these in his four volume work called *Historical Collections of the American Colonial Church*. Then at the beginning of this present century the whole set of letters was transcribed for the Library of Congress. Later, photostat copies were made, and from these a number of copies are available. These letters form the bulk of the sources for this present study.

Missionaries are human, however, and often illuminating points concerning them cannot be found in official reports. Consequently, I have tried to supplement the reports with items from personal letters, from diaries, and from contemporary newspaper accounts wherever these have been found available.

To tell the whole account of the churchmen who lived and worked within the bounds of the present diocese (which is coterminous with the state) of Delaware from its beginnings until the actual formation of an organized diocese, is my purpose, for no such complete account has been written previously. In doing this, an attempt has been made to give some of the more interesting and least accessible sources at some length in order that the student of Delaware history may have these in a more available form.

³Not the present CHURCH HISTORICAL SOCIETY, which was founded in 1910, but its predecessor, which existed but a few years.

CHAPTER I

THE NEW CASTLE MISSION

IN 1677, the seventh month, the New Castle court accepted the Rev. John Yeo as minister in the following words:

“Mr. John Yeo minister, being lately come out of Maryland, this day appearing in Court did exhibit and produce his letter of orders & License to Read Divine service, administer the Holy Sacraments & preach ye word of God, according to ye laws & constitutions of the Church of England. The court have accepted of ye said John Yeo, upon the approbation of his Hon. the Governor: he to be mayntayned by the gifts of ye free willing givers with which the said John Yeo declared to be content.”¹

THE FIRST ANGLICAN CLERGY

During the reign of Charles II, Henry Compton, bishop of London, had induced the king to grant a royal gratuity to the bishop of London in order that transportation might be provided for those clergymen who would volunteer for the American work. From the time of Charles until the establishment of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in 1701, a grant of £20 was regularly made to each clergyman and schoolmaster.² Dr. Keith in his sketch of Bishop Compton³ is of the opinion that John Yeo was one of the three first so aided, two other clergymen appearing in Maryland about this time.

The name of Yeo does not appear, however, in Fothergill,⁴ who has made a careful study of the royal cash books, and lists over 1200 emigrant clergymen. “After some trouble, apparently of a political nature, or connected with Lord Baltimore’s claims, he returned to Maryland.”⁵ Holcomb points out⁶ that Captain Christopher Billop denied Yeo the function of his ministry in 1679 without giving any cause for his action. Billop seems to have been quite arbitrary in his decisions for at the same time he denied the use of the jail to the sheriff

¹*New Castle County Record*, A: 235.

²There was a short period during the reign of William and Mary when the royal treasury was too short of funds to make the necessary grants.

³Keith, Charles P., *Henry Compton, Bishop of London* (Church Historical Society Publication No. III, Philadelphia, 1920.)

⁴Fothergill, Gerald, *A List of Emigrant Ministers to America, 1690-1811* (London: E. Stock, 1904.) The author has found no records of such an arrangement prior to his first date.

⁵Keith, *op. cit.*

⁶Holcomb, Thomas, *Early Ecclesiastical Affairs in New Castle, Delaware* (Wilmington: Delaware Printing Co., 1890) p. 31.

and stabled his cattle in the court. John Yeo was cognizant of his prerogatives, too, for the *Court Record*⁷ shows that he, Emilius Deringh, Hendrich Williams and Jan Harman, presented Walter Wharton for "marrying himself or being married directly contrary to ye known laws of England and laws and customs of this Province."

On April 5, 1681, the Rev. Mr. Yeo was presented to the New Castle court for using seditious language against the court. That he was of the opinion that the land in New Castle County belonged to Maryland rather than to William Penn and had no scruples about expressing his opinion is clear from the record.⁸ The jury returned a verdict of not guilty. By 1682 he was in Calvert County, Maryland, from which he removed at that date to enjoy the bequest of Jeremiah Eaton, who left five hundred acres of land in Baltimore County for the support of the first Protestant minister who should settle in that county.⁹

There was no priest of the Church of England in New Castle after the removal of John Yeo until the arrival of the Rev. George Keith on April 8, 1702.¹⁰ The erection of the church building in New Castle presents a problem, however. On the west wall of the tower of Immanuel Church there is a marble tablet bearing the inscription:

Founded 1689

Enlarged 1820

All of the evidence shows that Yeo held services in the court building within the fort. On December 3, 1678, the court ordered 500 or 600 acres of land laid off for glebe land for the support of a minister, a lot 120 feet wide and 300 feet long for a parsonage, and a piece sixty feet wide for a school and church.¹¹ The proposal was not carried out with regard to the glebe land or the parsonage land, but Holcomb¹² suggests that the order may have resulted in the selection of the fort land which was abandoned for military purposes four or five years later. It is just as likely that the land set apart for the Calvinist preacher, Petrus Tesschenmaker, on June 3, 1679, might be considered to have come under this regulation,¹³ for the majority of people in the town were of the Calvinist persuasion.

⁷*New Castle County Record*, A, 225.

⁸*New Castle County Records*, B, 313.

⁹Holcomb, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

¹⁰For an excellent short essay on Keith, see: J. A. Muller, "George Keith (1638-1716): First SPG Missionary to America," in *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, XIII (June, 1944) pp. 94-106.

¹¹*New Castle County Record*, A, 325.

¹²Holcomb, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

¹³*New Casile County Record*, B, 79.

Many conjectures have been made concerning this tablet, and it is possible that oral tradition preserved some idea which has not appeared in written documents, but there is no record upon which to base this date. Early in 1702 the Rev. George Keith, who had been commissioned to make a survey of the colonies for the newly founded Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts¹⁴ and who was instrumental in its founding, came to New Castle. He preached on April 8, 1702. On the following Sunday, the 11th, he preached in the morning, and the Rev. John Talbot, who accompanied him, preached in the evening. Three children of James Claypool (formerly a Quaker) and a child of a churchman were baptized.¹⁵ He preached there again on August 1, 1703. "They have had a church lately built, and the Reverend Mr. Ross, a Missionary of the Honorable Society, has been sent to them, which they greatly desired."¹⁶ John Talbot wrote from Virginia on May 3, 1703:

"A church is being built at New Castle, where in all appearance we shall have a considerable Congregation of Christian People. The place is very well planted for trade both by sea and Land. It being almost in the mid-way between Philadelphia and Maryland upon Delaware River: where God willing, I intend to spend some labor and pains; though I can't find in my heart to settle in any place for my own, but to travel, as I told you, for the good of the Church in general . . ."¹⁷

George Ross, the first missionary to the town, said that the church was finished and opened in 1706.¹⁸

THE REV. GEORGE ROSS (1679-1754)

In 1727, the Rev. George Ross¹⁹ wrote a short historical account of the mission for the benefit of the Society for the Propagation of the

¹⁴Chartered June 16, 1701. Hereafter referred to as the S. P. G.

¹⁵Keith, George, *Journal of Travels from New Hampshire to Caratuck on the Continent of North America* (Joseph Downing, for Brab. Aylmer at the Three Pidgeons over against the Royal Exchange in Cornhill, London, 1706). The term, "churchman," as used here and elsewhere, is a member of the Anglican Church, in Britain or America.

¹⁶*Ibid.*

¹⁷George M. Hills, *History of the Church in Burlington, New Jersey* (Trenton, 1885) p. 37.

¹⁸Perry, *Collections*, V: 45.

¹⁹GEORGE ROSS (1679-1754) was the second son of David Ross of Balbair. He was born in 1679; graduated Master of Arts at Edinburgh, 1700; and became tutor to a son of the Earl of May at £10 per annum. He studied theology under Meldrum of Edinburgh and had thought of becoming a Presbyterian minister. After ordination in the Church of England, he served for a time as chaplain on a man-of-war. See Pennington, E. L., *The Reverend George Ross, SPG Missionary at New Castle Delaware* (*Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, October, 1936) p. 34ff.

Gospel. In it he mentions that the Dutch had originally settled the town, and that, upon the surrender of the town to the English, the Dutch pastor left the place. The small wooden church which the Calvinists had erected had been neglected, had tumbled down, and the court had taken possession of the bell and the plot of ground upon which the church had stood.²⁰ It seems strange that he did not mention some former church building if there had been one. It appears to me that no Anglican Church was built until that of 1703, but it may very well have been that a group of people associated themselves together as early as 1689, and continued in some fashion as a congregation without having had a regularly appointed place of worship. On this basis the congregation may very well rest their claim to a foundation of the seventeenth century, but even here we have a difficulty, for Ross speaks in this same historical account of "Emmanuel Church, at New Castle" as having been founded in 1705.²¹

There are a variety of dates given for the arrival of the Rev. George Ross. Dr. Pascoe in his missionary roll of the S. P. G.²² gives his dates at New Castle as 1705-8 and 1713-54. George Keith in his Journal says, " . . . the Rev. Mr. Ross a missionary from the honorable society, has lately been sent them";²³ but writing from Philadelphia a short time later he states that at New Castle "there is at present no minister."²⁴ The variety of dates presents something of a problem, especially when we combine them with a statement which Ross himself made in a letter to his son, John, in 1750, to the effect that he arrived in New Castle in 1703.²⁵ I believe there can be but one explanation for these differences. Ross was appointed to New Castle by the Society prior to August, 1703. This would explain Keith's statement that he had lately been sent to New Castle. Travel in those days was extremely hazardous, and it took considerable time to sail to this country, so Ross probably did not arrive in New Castle until early in 1705. Read's statement must be accounted for by the fact that his mind went back to the date of appointment rather than to that of his actual arrival.

²⁰Perry, W. S., *Historical Collections relating to the American Colonial Church* (Church Press, Hartford, 1878) V, 43.

²¹*Ibid.*

²²Pascoe, C. F., *Two Hundred Years of the SPG.* (London: Printed by the Society, 1901) p. 852.

²³August 1, 1703.

²⁴Feb. 24, 1703-4: Hills, G. M., *History of the Church in Burlington* (Trenton: 1885). p. 49.

²⁵Read, W. T., *The Life of George Read.*

DIFFICULTIES OF ROSS AND JENKINS

Ross was no more settled in New Castle, and apparently happily married (in 1708),²⁶ than we find him in one of the most unfortunate controversies of his career. The Rev. Henry Nichols, S. P. G. missionary at Chester, resigned his mission and took a parish in Maryland. George Ross moved to Chester and the Rev. Thomas Jenkins, who arrived at Appoquinimy in June of that year, took over New Castle. Jenkins had an advantage over Ross in that he spoke Welsh, for at that time there was a considerable settlement of Welsh, not only in the Welsh Tract, but throughout New Castle County.²⁷ These moves on the part of Ross and Jenkins were made without the knowledge or approval of the Society. In fact the Society soon showed its disapproval of such high handed actions on the part of its employees and stopped their salaries.

The first letter telling of the difficulties involved and the reasons for the changes was written by Jenkins from New Castle on August 26, 1708. Jenkins said that upon the removal of Nichols from Chester, some of the vestry had requested Jenkins to fill the Chester pulpit, but he answered them that he could not do so because of his appointment to Appoquinimy. The following week, after having preached in New Castle for the edification of the governor, he went to his mission where he not only found that the congregation was rather cool and indifferent to him, but that there was no place for him to live except Captain Cantwell's, twelve miles from his church, and even here the house was so small and so crowded that he could not have a room to himself. After taking his services on Sunday, he went back to New Castle, where he found that Ross had accepted the invitation of the Chester vestry and was planning to move to that place in order that he might increase his stipend by taking some children from Philadelphia to board and tutor.

Jenkins then had letters from the New Castle vestry and from the governor, requesting him to take over the New Castle church. Whereupon he consulted with Colonel Quarry, admiralty judge and member of the Venerable Society, who advised him to settle at New Castle and wait for the approbation of the bishop of London and the Society. This he did, but not to the utter neglect of the Appoquinimy congregation, for he did preach for them once a month on a Sunday, and

²⁶To Joanna Williams of Rhode Island, by whom he had six children. She died September 29, 1726, and was buried just east of the church. *Vide*, Pennington, "George Ross," *op. cit.*

²⁷For some time there was a Welsh speaking congregation at St. George's, New Castle County. There appear to be very few references to it (*Vide*, Perry, *Collections*, II, 35-36). For more about Jenkins, *see below*, Chapter II.

agreed to preach once a fortnight on a weekday if a congregation could be gotten together, but this latter office was not acceptable to the congregation.

One of his great arguments in this long letter is that the Presbyterians in New Castle were so zealous that, if the newly built Church of England in that town were left unattended for six months or more, there would be no congregation left to carry on the work. He therefore felt justified in the circumstances in accepting the invitation of the vestry and the governor:

"Sir, could you frame in your mind, any idea of the fractious nature and circumstances of this place, it would incline you to believe what I so clearly see, that if this Church had wanted a Minister for one half a year, without a special providence and preventing Grace of God, it would not have been above three that would sincerely be of her Communion, whereas we have now some hundreds in the Town and Country, that are of the Church of England . . ."

In addition to his work in New Castle and Appoquinimy, Jenkins said that he was holding services for the Welsh, who, although they were divided into three camps of Anabaptist, Presbyterian, and Quaker, were glad to listen to his preaching. Even the Baptist minister knew no English, but only "British," and he and his congregation regularly listened to Jenkins' sermons in that language.²⁸

There are many angles in this controversy over Jenkins and Ross which other letters point out. Ross relates the arrival of Jenkins on July 19, 1708, and goes on to say:

" . . . Mr. Nichols has left Chester and gone to settle in Maryland, upon what motives is best known to himself. 'Tis a pity the place should be left desolate. I shall not be wanting in what I am able to supply it until there is care taken of it at home . . ."²⁹

Two days after Jenkins wrote his letter, Ross stated that the wardens of New Castle refused to supply him with a house, and they, seeing Jenkins in town, persuaded him to take New Castle without a house, and that the wardens of Chester, realizing that Ross was dissatisfied with his situation in New Castle, offered him Chester.³⁰

²⁸The full letter is found in Perry, *Collections*, V: 8-12, as well as in the SPG Transcripts. It covers five full folio pages of Perry, but is well worth reading for its comprehensive picture of New Castle County at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

²⁹Perry, *Collections*, V: 6-7.

³⁰*Ibid.*, p. 15.

Another element in the matter is brought out by the Rev. Evan Evans, also a Welshman. He says that since the death of the Rev. John Clubb (a Welshman), who was a schoolmaster in Philadelphia, Mr. Ross had been going from door to door trying to get supporters for his candidacy for that position.³¹ One gathers from the letter that there may have been a feeling of competition on the part of Evans. Under such conditions one Scot was hardly the equal of three Welshmen. Evans was in London in the latter part of 1708 and brought the matter before the Society. Upon this information the Society agreed to stop the salaries of the men in question until they should return to the stations to which they had been sent. Concerning this the bishop of London wrote to the Society's secretary on December 23, 1708:³²

Sir.

I thank you for the last Minutes you sent me, wherein I find, three Gentlemen are falling under your displeasure, whos discretion I do no ways pretend to justify, but I hope, if my indisposition permits me not attend the next general Meeting, you would lay before them the representation, which I shall now give you. First as to Mr. Nichols, we had some time since notice from him, that he could no longer subsist at Chester, and therefore desired he might have leave to go into Maryland, which he took to be granted, and so did I too: and therefore, if there hath been a neglect in laying all things fairly before you, I hope you will not pass so hard an Order upon him, at least till he shall have made his case known to you: Otherwise I am afraid it will be a great discouragement for those that serve at so great a distance to be deprived of any part of their Subsistence, before they have a fair time to give an Accot. of their proceedings. In the next place I must assure you, that I can't think Mr. Ross to be all at fault for removing from New Castle to Chester, because indeed it appears to me, that he was in a manner forced to retire for Peace sake from that place, where Mr. Jenkins by his Application had made so strong an interest, that it would have been very uneasy for anyone else to have stayed there: so that I must cast all the blame upon Mr. Jenkins, an honest but a forward young man: for I perceive by Letters from Col Quarry and others that he found fault with Appoquinimy as too desolate a Place for his conversable temper; and therefore finding the Neighbors of New Castle living close together, he made interest for their kind invitation & so quitted Appoquinimy: But after all he is an ingenious young man, and may do a great deal of good in that Place, where he is: and therefore, I hope, you will punish him with a severe reprimand.

³¹Perry, *Collections*, V: p. 19.

³²SPG, MSS, Ser. A., Vol. 4, 1-2. The bishop of London was Henry Compton (1632-1713), who was consecrated bishop of Oxford in 1674, and translated to London in 1675, which jurisdiction he held until his death. Compton's ability and concern for the Church in America are clearly evident in this letter.

mand, and not take his livelihood from him, and to make the best amends that may be for this folly I will take care to recommend a very good man to you for the Place he hath quitted . . .

Sir

Your most humb. Servt.

H: London

Returning to Philadelphia in March of 1708-9, Evan Evans brought letters to both Ross and Jenkins, telling them to return to the stations to which they had been appointed. Holcomb, in his *History of Immanuel Church*, says this occurred early in March of 1709,³³ but Jenkins' letter to the Society dated March 23, 1708-9, says, "'tis two Months since I returned to my own Cure.'³⁴ This statement of Jenkins is supported by one of the bishop of London, dated March 4, 1709:

" . . . I am sorry I cannot send you Mr. Evans' Letter, for I fear it is lost; but his Account of Mr Jenkins was very short, that he had Admonished him for his irregularity in quitting his Parish without leave from the Society, upon which he is returned to it again . . ."³⁵

If the bishop of London had such information at the beginning of March, Jenkins must have returned several months before.

Ross, having received the same message as Jenkins, wrote to the Society on March 9, 1709, from Chester, asking that he be not judged for disobeying a rule of the Society which he did not know was in existence, and expressing a willingness to return to New Castle, if the congregations would "redress my former Grievances." However, he went on to say that he hoped the Society would permit him to go on to some more agreeable place. By June 16th, Evan Evans wrote to the Society again, saying that, though the New Castle people were willing to find £60 and a house for Ross, he had replied "that they i. e. the Society were hard Taskmasters, and that he intended to disengage himself from their service."³⁶ In this same letter Evans says that Ross intended to go to Maryland and try for a parish left vacant by the death of a clergyman by the name of Liliston, and if not successful he would return to Philadelphia and try for the vacant position of schoolmaster and lecturer in Christ Church, Philadelphia. This was the last thing in the world that Evans wanted, and he used all his abilities in trying to arouse the members of the Society to prevent this

³³SPG MSS A, p. 74.

³⁴*Ibid.*, 4, 110.

³⁵*Ibid.*, 4, 104.

³⁶Perry, *op. cit.*, V, 23.

interference in his own parish. Evans ended his letter by praising the subservience of Jenkins and the Appoquinimy congregation.

A sensible and straightforward letter of the Chester congregation is dated September 1, 1709, and states that Mr. Ross has taken the school in Philadelphia, and that he has promised to supply Sunday services at Chester until he or the Chester vestry should hear from the Society.

Someone got to the ears of the bishop of London before December 16, 1709. In a letter on that date to the Society he lays the blame for the difficulties at Ross' door, saying that he had forced Henry Nichols out of Chester and "trapanned poor Mr. Jenkins over to New Castle."³⁷

The letters of the Chester vestry, however, lay all the blame upon Nichols whose morals they believe were not above reproach. On July 14, 1710, they wrote: "We are sorry that this mistake should be so much aggravated against Mr. Ross as we understand it is."³⁸ Ross, they said, was about to sail for England to clear himself. In determining to take this step, he did not go empty handed. There are a number of testimonials on his behalf.³⁹

It must have been this group of letters which induced the bishop of London to send an undated letter to the Society which is included in the correspondence of this time:

Monday

Sir,

I am so well satisfied in Mr. Ross', his innocence, that I am of the opinion we ought to pay him his arrears when we can, and that it will be best to send him to Chester for the convenience of his family. I am

Sir,

Yours, &c.,
H. London.⁴⁰

The Rev. John Talbot, missionary at Burlington, New Jersey, wrote on September 27th, 1709, that

³⁷Perry, *Papers Relating to the History of the Church in Pennsylvania*, p. 58.

³⁸*Ibid.*

³⁹Col. Lewis Morris of New York, 25 July, 1710: *SPG MSS A*, 5, 143. Col. Caleb Heathcote of N. Y., 12 July, 1710: *SPG MSS A*, 5, 144. "Thirty New Castle Residents", 4 June, 1710: *SPG MSS A*, 5, 147. Aeneas Mackenzie of New York, 28 July, 1710: *SPG MSS A*, 5, 148. William Vesey of New York, 26 July, 1710: *SPG MSS A*, 5, 154. The Bishop of London, 10 November, 1710: *SPG MSS A*, 5, 164.

⁴⁰Perry, *Hist. Papers*, Pa., p. 60.

" . . . Ross is a wandering star, we do not know where he will fix; meanwhile he does not well to supplant and undermine, let him be confined to some place where there is need, and not stay altogether in the town and do more hurt than good; . . . " ⁴¹

This charge has been repeated in many secondary sources, and unless one sees the full picture as shown in all the manuscript documents, there is the possibility of receiving an entirely false impression of George Ross. As I read the correspondence, neither Jenkins nor Ross was to be blamed for the position in which they found themselves. Both were advised to make the move by older laymen in prominent positions, particularly by that strong churchman, Col. Robert Quarry, judge of the admiralty court. When Evans began to fear competition from Ross, he raised many objections, and the laymen failed to support those whom they had advised in the beginning. Evans certainly held no malice toward Ross in later years, for when Evans died in October, 1721, in Harford County, Maryland, his will directed that George Ross should preach the funeral sermon, for which two guineas were to be paid. ⁴²

Ross was reinstated by the Society and sent to Chester. ⁴³ On the return voyage his ship was plundered by a French man-of-war; he was captured and stripped of all his clothing, which was given to the French priest who was chaplain of the ship, and then carried to Brest as a captive, where he had to use the £100 which had been paid to him as back salary to redeem himself. In 1716 the Society granted him £10 "to recompense him for being taken prisoner in France." ⁴⁴ A grant had been requested by the Pennsylvania clergy in 1712. ⁴⁵

THE REV. ROBERT SINCLAIRE

While George Ross was on his way to England, Jenkins returned to his work at Appoquinimy and Robert Sinclair was sent from England. The name is sometimes given as "Sinclair" and as "St. Clair," but I find that the letters which he himself wrote are usually signed in the former manner. After having been a tutor to Lord Crichton, he left his family in England and arrived in Philadelphia July 21, 1710, being then twenty-five years of age. He wrote: ⁴⁶

⁴¹Hills, G. M., *Hist. of the Church in Burlington, New Jersey*, p. 93.

⁴²Holcomb, *op. cit.* p. 66.

⁴³Perry, *op. cit.* p. 67.

⁴⁴MS letter in the *Read Collection* of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania dated April 23, 1716, and signed by David Humphreys, secty.

⁴⁵Perry, *op. cit.* p. 71.

⁴⁶SPG MSS, A, 5, 152.

Honor'd Sir.

After a tedious Voyage we Arrived at New York June 16th where I was taken ill of a ffever and Ague which continued four Weeks, but thanks be to God I am now in a great measure recover'd, so that I want only an opportunity of going down by Water from this place to my Cure at Newcastle which is represented to me as the worst of places, not only upon the account of the distempers that abound therein, but likewise of the vast number of those who dissent from and oppose the Church . . .

Arriving at his cure, the "ffever and Ague" returned immediately.⁴⁷ This letter is dated September 10, 1710, but the first notice of Sinclaire in the *Records of Immanuel Church* shows that he arrived at least as early as the 26th of July. One of the grievances which the people of New Castle had had against George Ross was that he would not permit a select vestry to be elected or appointed. Sinclaire did not fall into that difficulty, for at his first meeting with representatives of the congregation it was agreed that the members of the congregation meet on the seventh of August for the purpose of electing church wardens and vestry. One point is of interest. The English canons provide that both wardens shall be elected by the people with the consent of the minister, but if he will not consent to those elected by the people, then he may choose one and the people the other. This election of the New Castle wardens takes the latter method for granted, and considers this as the normal manner in which the elections should take place. In this we see how custom gradually supplants written law.

With typical Episcopalian regard for those in high places, Charles Gookin, lieutenant governor of the colony, was elected vestryman, but he was more inclined to favour the Presbyterian meeting house than he was the Church. Possibly he thought it good politics to side with the more numerous section of Christians in the town. At any rate, having elected him to the vestry, the missionary and the rest of the vestry wrote to the bishop of London on December 6, 1710, complaining because Col. Gookin did not show some interest in his new honors. They pointed out that he had built a pew in the meeting house and permitted the Presbyterians to use

"the common bell of our town according to their own convenience, many times intervening with those stated times appointed by our minister the Reverend Mr. St. Clare, for our public assembling to Divine worship."

This was undoubtedly the bell about which George Ross had written

⁴⁷*SPG MSS*, A, 5, 170.

in 1727 and which he had said was originally on the Dutch Calvinist Church. It was, therefore, stretching things a bit for the churchmen to claim it as the "common bell," for it was not such originally, although it may have been used in this manner after the court took possession of it. Worse than that, Col. Gookin had refused to subscribe to the support of the church or its minister! It appears from this letter, and there does not seem to be any other evidence to the contrary, that the lieutenant governor had nominated several men to the vestry, but the congregation had not elected them, whereupon he not only began to support the Presbyterians, but also attempted to prevent the vestry from meeting.⁴⁸

Despite these difficulties, Robert Sinclair was a good pastor and evangelist among the people of New Castle. His letters show a slow steady growth in the congregation without anything of a spectacular nature. In one letter he tells of twenty Quakers having come into the Church. The state of his health continued to be poor, and the clergy of Pennsylvania at a meeting at Burlington on April 12th, 1711, recommended that he be given a station in a more healthful climate:

" . . . The Honorable Society having about a year since sent out the Revd. Mr. Sinclair into these parts, we think it our duty to acquaint the Patrons of Religion that he has in all respects answered the noble ends which they have in view, vizt., the promotion of true piety in the world by sound doctrine and a Holy life, but the ill state of his health not permitting him to accomplish his good intentions, 'tis highly necessary that he should be removed to some more agreeable place than Newcastle, where he now resides. He is continually afflicted with Tertiary Ague. He does not desire to quit his mission, but to receive an order for some other part of the country, where he may have more health, & consequently, greater opportunities for doing good . . . '49

He returned to England early in 1712 and resigned from the Society's service.

THE REV. JACOB HENDERSON

The Rev. Jacob Henderson, the next incumbent, was a native of Ireland and was ordained by the bishop on London on June 5, 1710. He was appointed to Dover to succeed Thomas Crawford but was unsuccessful in obtaining the support of the Kent County congregations, and so remained there less than one year. He acted as locum tenens

⁴⁸*Vestry Records* for this date.

⁴⁹W. S. Perry, *Papers*, etc. p. 62.

in New Jersey and New York until he ran afoul of Governor Hunter, who was quarreling with the Rev. Dr. Vesey, rector of Trinity Church in that city. In order to clear up his status, he returned to England, was reinstated, and by December 1712 he was in Patuxent Parish, Maryland, on a missionary allowance of £25 sterling. Here he married a well-to-do widow, Mrs. Mary Duval.⁵⁰

John French and Samuel Lowman, wardens of New Castle, petitioned the Society to appoint Henderson to their mission. The petition is undated but is included in material dated 1711-12.⁵¹ It may be presumed that he was appointed shortly thereafter. The only letter we have from him is dated July 26th, 1713, and in it he requests that the Society release him from his obligations to the parish. He is desirous of leaving, but he says:

“I cannot in conscience leave it, till I have their answer, because it is a Town in which there is a large Presbyterian Meeting-house, whose Minister would make great advantage of such a vacancy, and therefore I have joined with our Vestry in praying the Honble Society to appoint Mr. Ross to succeed me . . .”⁵²

Holcomb states that he remained at New Castle until August, 1714.⁵³ But the Swedish pastor of Holy Trinity (Old Swedes') Church, the Rev. Eric Björk, records on Friday, June 5th, 1713:

“Now, though I have separated myself from Christina Church, but yet cannot at the right time this summer set out for Sweden to arrive in good time before winter, on account of my wife's condition, she being pregnant. I have concluded to remain till next spring, and in the meantime not to lie entirely idle, but to serve for the general good. And as for a time the English Priest at New Castle, Mr. Jacob Henderson, by reason of his marriage down near Annapolis in Maryland, was necessitated to be often at that place, he agreed with me to attend to his church at New Castle in his absence, for which I should have half his income, he now and then coming up to them, till he by transfer can remain at home, being dismissed from New Castle and another from England being appointed in his place. I therefore accepted his proposition and am to be with them every Sunday and Friday, and whenever else my service is needed by them.”⁵⁴

⁵⁰Sprague, Wm. B., *Annals of the American Pulpit*, V, 34ff. He received royal bounty for both voyages. (Fothergill, *op. cit.*, p. 33.)

⁵¹Perry, W. S., *Collections*, etc., V, 31.

⁵²*Ibid.*

⁵³*Op. cit.*, p. 89.

⁵⁴*The Records of Holy Trinity (Old Swedes) Church, Wilmington, Delaware, 1697-1773*. Translated by Horace Burr (Historical Society of Delaware, 1890.)

It seems that Henderson actually served the New Castle congregation for a short time, probably from the latter part of 1711, at the earliest, until June, 1713. Björk makes no mention of severing his connection with New Castle, and it must be presumed, for his records are extraordinarily complete, that he continued there until his departure for Sweden at the end of June, 1714. Henderson's name appears on a representation of the clergy of Maryland to the governor of that colony, which must be dated late June or early July of 1714. Here he remained until his death in 1751, having in the meantime become commissary to the bishop of London for Maryland.

THE RETURN OF GEORGE ROSS

The minutes of the vestry of New Castle record: "At a meeting of the vestry after Mr. Ross' move from Chester to New Castle. . . ." This time Ross was not to be caught in the position he found himself in after his move from New Castle. The first thing he did at this meeting was to produce and lay before the vestry the orders from the Venerable Society appointing him to that mission.

Having become settled in his new place, he accompanied Governor Keith to Lewes in the summer of 1717. While the governor attended to the affairs of state in the court house, George Ross strove to revive the interests of the Church people, which had been much reduced by the flight of the Rev. William Black and the subsequent failure of the Society to station another priest in his place. While official business was not in session, the court house was used for Church services. On August 7th, a Wednesday, the crowd was so great that he had to dismiss the congregation before he could administer baptism. He rather apologizes for doing so. It seems quite evident that he was in the habit of conforming to the rubric which required baptism during Morning or Evening Prayer. He also refused baptism to several adults for want of proper instruction, and promised to return for that purpose. Continuing to hold services throughout the week, he finally left Lewes to visit another church "about 16 miles off from Lewis Town." It has been conjectured that this was Old Prince George's Church, Dagsboro. Then on Sunday, the 10th, he preached in an unfinished church in the upper part of the county. This must have been St. Matthew's Church, Cedar Creek. It was very largely because of this visit that a missionary was once more sent to Lewes.

About this same time, that is to say between 1716 and 1717, the people of White Clay Creek built a frame chapel. Prior to this time they had worshipped in New Castle, and Ross always considered them

a part of his parish. Writing of this work on the 20th of September, 1717, Ross and the churchwardens, Joseph Wood, Row'd. Fitzgerald, and others,⁵⁵ say that the church was opened on the fourth of July, 1717:

“ . . . and is supplied at present by the Rev'd. Mr. George Rosse, missionary at Newcastle, within whose Cure the Inhabitants about Whiteclay have hitherto been always reckoned.”

Despite this statement, the congregation at the new church did not always recognize themselves as part of the New Castle parish, and on several occasions, as we shall see later, made things rather difficult for the priest who had superintended the building.

From sometime prior to 1722 until at least June 16, 1731, Ross was also rector of St. Mary Anne parish in Cecil County, Maryland. Later, he and Walter Hackett, missionary at Appoquinimy, served it between them. At that time we find Ross listed as rector and as “A Tory” in a very interesting document. Considering the epithets which the unknown writer casts against most tories in the list of clergy, he must have considered Ross a very decent sort, for he was simply called a tory; most of his political brethren in this document were listed as “a stickler for the present happy establishment,” “An Idiot & Tory,” “A Grand Tory & a Rake.” To reverse the phrase, he was praised by faint damnation.⁵⁶

These three charges proved unsatisfactory, so far as the people in some of them were concerned, and for a short time, 1728-9, Alexander Campbell⁵⁷ ministered to White Clay. When he was removed, the congregation tried to continue their separation from New Castle:

“We are sensible that the Revd. Mr. Ross, missionary at New Castle will oppose this to the utmost of his power, but we think very unreasonably and very barbarously: for, seeing he has accepted of a parish in Maryland, 'tis plain that it is impossible for him to attend New Castle Church and ours too. We are informed that he calls our Church a Chappel of ease to New Castle, but we absolutely deny this and are able to prove to the contrary. We own however that this is a Chappel of ease to him, for he has not preached nor officiated in it these eighteen months past; and, indeed it is morally impossible for the reason before mentioned.”⁵⁸

⁵⁵“A Sermon preached before the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts; at their Anniversary Meeting in the Parish Church of St. Mary-le-Bow, on Friday February 21, 1772,” by the Right Rev. Charles [Moss] Lord Bishop of St. David's. London, Printed by T. Harrison & S. Brooke, in Warwick Lane. MDCC LXXII pp. 111-112.

⁵⁶Perry, *Collections*, IV, 129.

⁵⁷See below, Chapter II.

⁵⁸Holcomb, *op. cit.* pp. 95 & 96.

This was not the whole story. After Appoquinimy became vacant, Ross had been requested by the Society to care for that congregation until a new missionary could arrive. As a result, he was going every third Sunday to New Castle, Appoquinimy, and St. Mary Anne in Maryland. As he points out in his letter of June 4, 1725, he had always been in the habit of giving week day services to White Clay.⁵⁹ By 1735, however, the White Clay congregation was added to the circuit of the Bristol itinerant missionary, who rather objected to going there since it was so near New Castle.⁶⁰

In spite of the tremendous amount of territory he was trying to cover, George Ross continued to advance the Church's work in New Castle and Chester Counties. In 1733 he began services at London Grove, twenty-four miles from New Castle, and preached in Robert Montgomery's barn on May 15, June 11, August 6, September 3, and October 2. In his letter⁶¹ he suggested that a missionary be appointed for London Grove and White Clay.

"Please not to observe that as I am willing to water, so I decline no opportunity to plant. This leads me to go abroad, into the desolate corners of the Country, where I think I can be serviceable, & the best answer the end of my mission. This liberty I seldom take on Sundays, which if I did, should think it no harm, so long as the church gained ground by it, I told you in my last, that I preached to a new congregation in that part of the Country known by the name of London Tract. On the 19th of this instant, I visited my new flock, which I found was considerably increased, & will, I trust, deserve, in a short time, the notice of the Honble Board."⁶²

By 1739 his age had begun to tell upon him for he asked that a larger Bible be sent to the New Castle Church "to supply the dimness of my eye." After serving this field continuously for forty-three years, George Ross died in 1754 and was buried in the churchyard in New Castle. Lacking a stone we do not know the exact position of his grave.

Despite the fact that he remained there for so long a time, the last years of his life do not seem to have made him like the town any better than he did when he first came and found the people rather sparing in their support:

⁵⁹Perry, *Collections*, IV, 1.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, II, 194.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, V: 68.

⁶²*Ibid.*, p. 72. Some time after 1726 he married for the second time. His second wife was Catherine Van Gezel of New Castle, by whom he also had six children. See Pennington, *George Ross*, *op. cit.*

“The town of Newcastle consisting of about fourscore houses waxes poorer & poorer, And falls into Contempt more and more, every year, haveing Several houses without inhabitant, & Some not fit for habitation. The Church under my care, visibly shareing in the wrtched Fate of the poor town, makes a much meaner appearance now than at any time heretofore. This dying Condition is partly owing to an upstart village lying on a Neighboring creek⁶³ which yields a convenient port to the adjacent Country . . . ’⁶⁴

GEORGE ROSS' SUCCESSORS

The Rev. Clement Brooke was appointed to succeed Mr. Ross, and he was received by the vestry and installed, “the Key of the Church & Bell roap being delivered to him” after he had read the Thirty-nine articles and made a declaration as to his conformity to the Church of England.⁶⁵ He wrote few letters—at least they are not preserved—to the S. P. G., and nothing much is known about him.⁶⁶ He resigned the mission October 25, 1756, after about fifteen months in the town.

The Rev. Aaron Cleveland succeeded Clement Brooke. He had been appointed to Lewes, and a fuller account of him will be found under that mission.⁶⁷ Inasmuch as he had been bred a dissenter, the Sussex countians were not of a mind to accept him, and the Society agreed to his removal to New Castle, provided that parish would agree to a new ruling of the Society and provide a glebe for him. Unfortunately, Cleveland, after having withstood many hardships in giving up his Congregational ministry, bearing the expense of going to England for ordination, and surviving shipwreck on the return, did not live to enjoy his new home. Returning to Connecticut for his family, he stopped at the home of his friend, Benjamin Franklin, where he died on August 11, 1757:

⁶³Wilmington.

⁶⁴Letter of March 27, 1750. *SPG MSS*, B, 18, 154.

⁶⁵July 28, 1755.

⁶⁶Dr. Pascoe in his *Missionary Roll* lists Brooke as being a native of St. George's County, Maryland, and as stationed at New Castle 1754-5. This becomes suspect when we find his Christian name given as Samuel rather than Clement (Pascoe, *op. cit.*, p. 851). But Allen, *Clergy of Maryland*, while he does not give his New Castle dates, says he was ordained 1755; became curate at Annapolis, 1756; rector of Prince George Parish, Montgomery, 1759; of St. Andrews, St. Mary's County, 1761; and after serving for a time in Virginia, returned to Maryland before the Revolution. He died 1800. He must have been quite a wanderer. Fothergill (*op. cit.*, p. 17.) lists him as receiving the royal bounty on February 7, 1755, and notes that he was licensed to South Carolina. The bishop of London's license was dated January 29, 1755, for South Carolina, under the name, Clement Brooke.

⁶⁷See below, Chapter IV.

"On Thursday last, after a lingering Illness, died here the Rev. Mr. Cleveland, lately appointed to the Mission at New Castle, by the Society for propagating the Gospel. As he was a Gentleman of humane and pious Disposition, indefatigable in his Ministry, easy and affable in his Conversation, open and sincere to his Friends, and above every Species of Meanness and Dissimulation, his Death is greatly lamented by all who knew him, as a Loss to the Publick, a loss to the Church of Christ in General, and in particular to that Congregation who has proposed to themselves so much satisfaction from his Appointment among them, agreeable to their own earnest Request."⁶⁸

THE REV. AENEAS ROSS

SEPTEMBER 17, 1716—1782

In the baptismal register at Immanuel Church, New Castle, there is the notation: "Infant, Eneas, son of George Rosse, October 17. (nat. 17th September,) 1716." The name is not a common one and it is possible that he was named for Aeneas Mackenzie of New York, who wrote a recommendation for George Ross in 1710 when he was on his way to England seeking reinstatement in the Society.⁶⁹ Probably his education had been largely in his father's hands, who directed the boy's attention to the ministry. At this time the Society was having difficulties in supplying stipends for the missionaries already on their rolls. Hence they hesitated to accept another charge. A letter of the father points out that at one time the son had contemplated joining the expedition against the Spanish West Indies because he began to despair of a favorable reply to his application to the Society. The word finally came, and the young Aeneas sailed to England for ordination:

" . . your Letter prov'd the happy means of preventing my Son from engaging in this hazardous Attempt. His patience was quite spent; and he was resolved to push his fortune by the Sword. Since he saw no probability of coming at the Gown by his frequent application. He is now making ready for his voyage, and would have crossed the Seas in the Ship, by which I send you this, had we timely notice, of her altering her first intended course In the meantime, if a vacancy happens, you'll remember him I hope, that his stay in London may not be long, or prove to heavy for me . . . My Notitial⁷⁰ you shall have by my Son, who hopes to sail for England sometime in September next, or perhaps, sooner."⁷¹

⁶⁸*Pennsylvania Gazette*, Aug. 18, 1757.

⁶⁹Mackenzie was a missionary in New York. He was appointed at the same time as Ross and accompanied him on his first voyage to America.

⁷⁰Semi-annual statement of services rendered in the mission station.

⁷¹MS in *Read Collection* of Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Aug. 5, 1740.

Aeneas Ross was ordained priest on the 22nd of February, 1740-41, in the Chapel Royal of Whitehall, and licensed the next day to Pennsylvania.⁷² The original plan seems to have been that he should serve as his father's assistant and to pay particular attention to Bristol, White Clay Creek, and Fogg's Manor, but upon his return in June, 1741, he found Christ Church, Philadelphia, vacant by the death of the rector, the Rev. Archibald Cummings. The vestry prevailed upon him to supply Christ Church's pulpit, which he did until the appointment of Dr. Robert Jenney. Young Ross served this important parish so acceptably that the vestry requested that he be permanently stationed there. The appointment of Dr. Jenney had already been made, and upon his arrival in November, 1742, the new rector "gladly approved of, and received, the reverend Eneas Ross for his assistant in this church."⁷³

Ross accepted the appointment, but apparently he also fulfilled his duties as S. P. G. missionary at Oxford and Whitemarsh, for in his letter of resignation as assistant in Christ Church, Philadelphia, dated July 14, 1743, he said:

" . . . but having the care of Oxford and White Marsh churches, in which I have officiated for some time past, by order of the Society, and my health being much impaired, I am under the necessity . . . to retire to Oxford. . ." ⁷⁴

For fifteen years then, 1742-1757, he served those churches. In 1745 he married, and set up his residence at Germantown, which was equidistant from his two charges.

The letter of the secretary of the Society, appointing Ross to New Castle, is dated May 3, 1758, but the minutes of the Society show that his appointment was approved in 1757. His two extant letters show him to have had difficulties (as his father had done) with the congregation at White Clay Creek. He, too, insisted that this was a chapel-of-ease to New Castle, although he did give them Sunday services every third week, whereas the congregation insisted that they should have a resident minister. There is something to be said on the side of the St. James' congregation. As early as 1736-7, March 9, we

⁷²The original ordination certificate is in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

⁷³See Dorr, Benj., *Historical Account of Christ Church, Philadelphia* (New York & Philadelphia, 1841) p. 80.

⁷⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 84-85. When Ross' resignation was read, "the vestry acknowledged the great service" he "had done this congregation, during the vacancy . . . by his diligent performance of the divine offices, attended with a sober and religious behaviour; for which they assured him they should at all times think themselves under an obligation to render him all the good services in their power . ." (*Ibid.*, p. 85).

have evidence that this church was served by the itinerant missionary, the Rev. William Lindsay, who was stationed at Bristol.⁷⁵

By 1764 it was served by the Rev. Thomas Barton of Lancaster. In his letter of November 10, 1766, he recommended that an itinerant missionary be provided for White Clay Creek, New London, Bristol, Esherton, and Shippensburg. This was agreed to by the Society.⁷⁶

Aeneas Ross remained at New Castle until his death in 1782, when he was buried in the churchyard. Holcomb states⁷⁷ that Immanuel was the only church to remain open during the Revolution. Both Dover and Lewes have just as good claims to this distinction. It is true that Aeneas Ross was a patriot and was related to many who were active in the patriotic cause, his brother being a signer of the Declaration of Independence. Ambrose Serle, a young man in the employ of the British Army as secretary to Lord Howe, visited New Castle during Howe's occupation of Philadelphia, and recorded his survey of the town and the church.⁷⁸

Tues. 14 Oct. 1777

Landed at Newcastle, and walked about the Town—its Environs, which are by far the most pleasant and the most fertile Lands I have yet seen in America. The principal Houses, of wch there are but few, are utterly abandoned by the Inhabitants on account of their Concern in the Rebellion. . . . I fell into Company with two of Mr. John Wesley's Preachers: The People of his Persuasion in the Colonies, as well as the Quakers, are generally Loyal. . . . The Town is small, and its Buildings mean & scattered; yet, though inferior in Size & every other Respect to Wilmington, it is the principal Town of the County, where the Courts of Justice are held: and here are the parish Church, a Presbyterian Meeting-House, a Court House, a Gaol, a Pillory, a Pair of Stocks, one old Cannon for Signals or rejoicing Days, and a Pound for Hogs. The Inhabitants seem poor, and their appearance is by no means healthy, though the Country about them is pleasant. The Fever & Ague prevails here in Autumn, as in all the Low Lands of Delaware Bay & River. There being no Wharf or Dock, where ships can ride out the very strong Current, it does not seem probable that this Town will ever grow (at least not rapidly) into consequence.

⁷⁵SPG *Minutes*, p. 24-5.

⁷⁶*Ibid.*, p. 124 ff.

⁷⁷*op. cit.*, p. 128.

⁷⁸*The American Journal of Ambrose Serle, 1776-1778* (San Marino, California: Huntington Library, 1940) pp. 258-259, 259-260.

Sunday 19, Oct. [1777].

Went to Newcastle Church, where an odd kind of motley Service of Religion was exhibited. The Parson, one Ross, read the Liturgy, garbled of the Prayers for the King & Royal Family; after wch, one of Mr. Wesley's Preachers mounted the Pulpit, and gave us a long & full Prayer for the King & a blessing on his Arms, and then delivered an extemporary Oration, which, the author being evidently illiterate, was for the matter & manner curious enough. Strange that men shd be so ignorant of their own Ignorance, as to fancy themselves able to teach others what they do not understand for themselves; A Report was brought us, that an Insurrection for the king was begun about Cedar Creek & Lewis Town near the Capes.

This is indeed a curious statement. Aeneas Ross read the service and omitted the prayers for the king and royal family, but a Methodist preacher prayed for them from the pulpit. It is evident that the church was kept open even during the British occupation of Philadelphia. The number of baptisms and marriages recorded is considerably less than usual, but one can hardly be surprised that this should be so, considering the confused and troubled times.

THE REV. CHARLES HENRY WHARTON

MAY 25, 1748 O. S.—JULY 23, 1833

Charles Henry Wharton succeeded Aeneas Ross as rector of New Castle. Born in Maryland of Roman Catholic parents, from the age of twelve he had been educated in the Jesuit colleges in France and Flanders. He wrote:

"I was born in St. Mary's county, in the province now the state of Maryland, on the 25th day of May, O. S. (answering to June 5) in the year 1748. The family plantation is called Notley Hall. It had been the residence of a Governor of that name; and was presented to my grandfather by Lord Baltimore, towards the close of the 17th century. From him it descended to my father, Jesse Wharton; and, at his death in 1754, it became my property, and continued so until I took orders in the Roman Catholic Church, and then I conveyed it to my brother,—after whose death it became the property of his son, C. H. Wharton, now residing in Washington. . . . I was first put to a mistress, and then to a very competent schoolmaster in the neighborhood—so that when it was determined that I should be sent to St. Omers, in 1760, I could read and write tolerably well, and was fonder of my book than boys of that age generally are. . . . In the year 1760, I was sent to the Jesuits' College of St. Omers, a seminary at that

time very deservedly celebrated for teaching the Latin and Greek classics with great accuracy, and for its strict discipline in all literary and religious duties. The students at that time amounted to more than a hundred, and were divided into six schools or classes, under that number of preceptors, to each one of whom was assigned one of the schools, to be taught by him for six years, from the first rudiments of a classical education, to the theory and practice of rhetorical compositions. . . . At the end of two years, the college at St. Omers was broken up by the banishment of the Jesuits from all the French dominions. For this most iniquitous and tyrannical measure, I could never discover any pretext, unless, indeed, it was their unlimited devotedness to the Roman Court and Church. This, I know, was the ostensible ground of their banishment; but its real motive lay much deeper; for the spirit of infidelity was working powerfully in France at this time, which afterwards burst out in the enormities of the revolution. Against this spirit, the Jesuits came forward with great zeal, and while Voltaire, Rousseau, Helvetius, and a host of other infidel writers, were labouring to *crush* what they termed the *monster* of revealed religion, they met with such powerful opponents among the Jesuits, that nothing short of the abolition of that order could promise them success. The order was accordingly suppressed a few years after, by a temporizing Friar, who had been raised to the Popedom by the most palpable intrigues, and was induced by allegations the most unfounded and contradictory, to dissolve a religious body, which Monks and Friars of every denomination had long regarded with jealous and envious eyes. . . . Having long ago renounced those discriminatory doctrines of the Romish Church, which the Jesuits were always foremost in defending in their writings, enforcing in their Colleges, and recommending by their strictness of their moral and regular conduct, I cannot be considered as an apologist of that Society. . . ."⁷⁹

After ordination he became chaplain to the Roman Catholics of Worcester, England, in 1777, and it was here that he began to have religious doubts. Bishop Doane⁸⁰ quotes the Rev. John Hawkins, another Romanist chaplain in Worcester, as saying that Wharton's conversion was caused by the fact that he saw those whom he had been taught to look upon as heretics believing in Christ and living obviously Christian lives. Arriving in this country on the first boat to arrive from England after the Treaty of Peace had been signed (1783), he published "A Letter to the Roman Catholics of the City of Worcester from the late Chaplain of that Society." In it he gave three reasons for his conversion: (1) Protestants are walking in the Christian Way, yet the Roman Church declared them heretical; (2) that Romanism

⁷⁹Doane, G. W., *Remains of Dr. Wharton with a Memoir of his Life* (2 vols. Philadelphia; Staveland & Latimer, 1834) I, xiv-xxi.

⁸⁰*Ibid.*, I: xxviii.

is not rational in its attitude towards facing facts; and (3) turning to the Scriptures, he could find no basis for the Romanist doctrines of Transubstantiation, the Tridentine position that the *priest* forgives sins (he says that the scholastics always stress the *declaration* of God's forgiveness), purgatory, and the infallibility of the Church. It appears that Wharton's analysis really does not come to grips with the real point at issue. The former quotation points out his obvious disgust with those who had suppressed the Jesuit Order. These last points appear to be merely the outward signs of an emotional state engendered by that fact. This tract stirred up quite a controversy. John Carroll, later first Roman Catholic bishop in Maryland, answered his "Letter," and Wharton answered Carroll. Throughout the rest of his life this quarrel was never absent, and he appears to have enjoyed the dialectics involved.⁸¹

Of this tract Bishop William White of Pennsylvania said:

"This production was perused by me with great pleasure in manuscript, and the subject of it caused much conversation during his stay in our city. The result was my entire conviction that the soundness of his arguments for the change of his religious profession was fully equalled by the sincerity and disinterestedness which accompanied the transaction."⁸²

On the basis of this apologia, Dr. White and Dr. William Smith informed Wharton that they were willing to recognize him as a priest of the Anglican Church, if he could find a parish which was willing to recognize him as their minister. The New Castle parish supplied this want. It must be remembered that ecclesiastical conditions were still in a state of flux. The nation had thrown off the authority of the British government, but the Church had not yet organized itself as a self-governing body. Dr. White was not yet elected or consecrated bishop.

The records of New Castle parish give a full picture of Wharton's acceptance.

"At a meeting of the Congregation of Emanuel Church at New Castle on Delaware, held the 22nd Day of September, 1784, the Rev'd Charles Henry Wharton, having produced and laid before the Congregation his Letters of Orders from a Bishop of the Roman Catholic Church, having exhibited ample Testimonials of his Life and Conversation, and subscribed the annexed Declaration, was received and accepted by the Congregation aforesaid with all due respect and satisfaction. It was determined at the

⁸¹The *Gratz MSS*, dated August 13, 1826, in the Pennsylvania Historical Society, gives a good example of his later polemical writings.

⁸²Sprague, *Annals*, V: 340-341.

same meeting that the Commencement of Mr. Wharton's Ministry should bear date the seventeenth day of August, 1784. Declaration—I, the under written, do hereby profess and declare, that I do acknowledge and believe, that the Word of God contained in the Old and New Testament is and ought to be the sole Rule and Standard of Christian Faith. I do therefore admit no point of doctrine as an *Article of Faith* which is proposed or enforced by any other authority, than that of the Bible. I approve the tenets and Liturgy of the Protestant Episcopal Church as now commonly taught and practiced in America. The first as containing nothing repugnant to the written Word of God; and the second as very conformable to the Worship of the Primitive Church. I will conform to the Ordinances & Liturgy which may hereafter be adopted by a General Continental Convention of this Church provided always that they be agreeable to the known Doctrine of this Church.

Charles Henry Wharton''

At the same meeting a letter from the Rev. William White, rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia; from the Rev. Samuel Magaw, rector of St. Paul's, Philadelphia; and from the Rev. Robert Blackwell of that city, was read to the congregation:

“Rev'd. Sir.

In answer to your inquiry as to the proper manner of your admission to our Communion, we inform you that on your producing Testimonials of your Life & Conversation to any Congregation of the Protestant Episcopal Church inclined to receive you as their Pastor, your exhibiting to them your Letters of Orders from a Bishop of the Roman Catholic Church; your making before credible witnesses, a Declaration contained in a certain paper drawn by yourself & approved by us, under our signature, and your giving proof to us, that such Testimonials, Letters of Orders and Declaration have been registered by the Church Wardens of the Congregation receiving you, we think ourselves duty bound to consider you a minister of the Protestant Episcopal Church & at liberty to ask you to officiate in the Congregations respectively under our care. With our Prayers to Almighty God that entire peace of mind may arise from the sincerity with which you seem desirous of embracing our Communion, and that your usefulness therein, may be in proportion to the opinion we entertain of your talents & learning, &c.

Rev'd. Sir, your friends & humble servants,

W. White

Robert Blackwell

Sam Magaw^{'83}

Philadelphia,
June 4, 1784

⁸³ *New Castle Vestry Record.*

The records of the New Castle parish then carry the copies of Wharton's ordination to the subdiaconate on May 10, 1772, to the diaconate on June 13, 1772, and to the priesthood on September 19, 1772, in addition to testimonials from a number of people, including the rector of St. Mary's County, Maryland.

He remained at New Castle until 1788 when he moved to Wilmington, having accepted the position of principal of the Wilmington Academy.⁸⁴ He appears to have served the academy until he was elected rector of St. Mary's Church, Burlington, New Jersey.⁸⁵ We shall see more of his activities in connection with the organization of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

Bishop Lee in *Our Centenary*⁸⁶ says:

"The year 1786 is also memorable in our ecclesiastical annals, for the request of the Swedish missionaries to be recalled to the mother country, and thus terminate the dependence of their congregations upon a supply of ministers from Sweden. The last of these missionaries at Trinity Church, Wilmington, the Rev. Mr. [Lars] Girelius, did not however, give up his ministrations until 1790. He was soon succeeded by the Rev. Dr. Wharton, who was the first incumbent from the Anglican branch of the church, and whose ministry there continued for about two years. For about six years after he resided at Wilmington, without charge, his health being infirm. In 1798 he accepted a call to Burlington, New Jersey . . ."

Dr. Pennington in his article, "The Church in Delaware,"⁸⁷ accepts this statement and builds upon it, but I believe the bishop, and hence Dr. Pennington, are in error because they did not know of Dr. Wharton's connection with the Wilmington Academy. The fact that Dr. Girelius was president of the board of trustees of the academy gives some indication of the close relations between him and Dr. Wharton. Probably both the bishop and Dr. Pennington depend, in the last analysis, upon Sprague's *Annals*⁸⁸ which is very indefinite and merely says:

⁸⁴Powell, Lyman P., *The History of Education in Delaware*. Bureau of Education, Circular of Information No. 3, 1893, Contributions to American Educational History, ed. by Herbert B. Adams (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1893) pp. 45 ff.

⁸⁵Bishop White offered him the position of head of the newly founded Episcopal Academy in 1784, but he declined the honor. In 1801, he became president of Columbia College, New York, for a very short time. He returned from New York to Burlington, which he served until his death.

⁸⁶*Tenth Charge*, printed by James & Webb, Wilmington, 1886.

⁸⁷*Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, V (March, 1936), pp. 3-4.

⁸⁸Sprague, Wm. B., *Annals of the American Pulpit*, V, 337.

“Between this date 1784 and 1792, he was in some manner connected with the Swedish Church, at Wilmington; from which period until 1798 he resided on his estate at Prospect Hill, in the neighborhood of that town, in feeble health, and probably without a pastoral charge.”

Evidently no one previously looked into his educational activities. The *Records of Holy Trinity Church* for this period are dealt with at length in Chapter V below, but it should be pointed out here that they nowhere show Dr. Wharton as doing more than performing an occasional baptism. On the contrary, they show without doubt that Pastor Girelius remained at Holy Trinity at least until 1792, and that the Rev. Joseph Clarkson became the first regularly appointed Anglican to serve as rector of that congregation.⁸⁹

The records of St. Mary's Church, Burlington, agree that Dr. Wharton became rector of that congregation in 1798 and that he was resident in Delaware at the time of the call.⁹⁰

THE REV. ROBERT CLAY

OCTOBER 18, 1749—SEPTEMBER 17, 1831

Robert Clay, who succeeded Dr. Wharton as rector of New Castle in 1788, first appears in the ecclesiastical annals at a meeting of churchmen in New York, October, 1784. At this time he was still a layman, engaged in the mercantile business, and accompanied Dr. Wharton and the Rev. Sydenham Thorne;⁹¹ he was made a member of the committee to revise the state prayers in the liturgy. After being ordained deacon, December 16, 1787, by Bishop White, and priest on February 17, 1788, he became rector of the New Castle congregation.

Robert Clay, according to his nephew, the Rev. J. C. Clay,⁹² was a “fine reader of the Church service, and sustained an unblemished reputation. He was never married.”

When he was ordered deacon in 1787, he was already thirty-eight years old. He served the one parish for thirty-six years. For some unknown reason, he did not attend the early conventions of the

⁸⁹Burr, Nelson H., “The Early History of the Swedes and the Episcopal Church in America” in *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, VII (June, 1938), p. 128, agrees with my position. So also Clay's *Annals of the Swedes*.

⁹⁰White, Wm., *Memoirs* (Philadelphia: S. Potter, 1820) p. 65. While resident in Wilmington he offered his home to Dr. Rush of Philadelphia as a refuge during a yellow fever epidemic in that city. See 23 *Rush MSS*, 138, and 25 *Rush MSS*, 33, at the Library Company of Philadelphia.

⁹¹Perry, W. S., *The General Ecclesiastical Constitution of the American Church* (New York: Thos. Whittaker, 1891) pp. 83-84.

⁹²Sprague, *op. cit.*, V, 370.

diocese of Delaware until 1795. Nevertheless, he was a rock of stability in the diocese during its darkest period; and when he retired from the rectorship of Immnauel Church in 1823 at the age of seventy-four, the diocese was entering a more encouraging period. In the diocesan convention of that year, the Rev. Ralph Williston of Wilmington paid him this tribute:

“It must be truly gratifying to the reverend gentleman, now advanced in years, to witness the flattering prospects of a church over which he has presided *many years*. Altho’ he may have only *sowed and another shall reap*; yet, he that sowed and he that reapeth, may both rejoice together, hereafter, in the kingdom of God. The foundation is laid to produce inestimable advantages.”

⁹³Quoted in E. L. Pennington, “The Diocese of Delaware,” *Historical Magazine of the Episcopal Church*, V (1936), p. 10.

CHAPTER II

THE MISSION AT APPOQUINIMY

THE Rev. Thomas Jenkins was appointed first missionary to Appoquinimy, although clergy from Maryland had held services in this vicinity for several years. He was the first missionary to be ordained in the diocese of St. David's, Wales. Sailing from Portsmouth, he, William Black, who was appointed to Lewes, and John Talbot, who had been appointed to Burlington, New Jersey, arrived in Virginia after eleven weeks on May 26, 1708. The trip was a hard one for Jenkins and he was sick most of the time.

After waiting in Virginia for five weeks for a passage, they finally hired a boat and set sail for Bohemia Landing. There they met Col. John Evans, the governor, who at once began to discourage Jenkins with regard to his mission, telling him that he wondered at the people venturing to petition for a missionary, since there were so few of them, and they were such poor country folk. The following day, Evans, Black and Jenkins set out for New Castle, and found the Rev. Henry Nichols with his family, baggage and servants, on their way to Nichols' new parish in Maryland. Black and Jenkins preached in New Castle and each set out for his mission.

BEGINNINGS UNDER THE REV. THOMAS JENKINS

Arriving at Appoquinimy, Jenkins found it a very desolate place. The rules of the Society forbade him from lodging at an inn, and the best place in the country was Captain Cantwell's house, which was so crowded that Jenkins could not have a room to himself. In addition to this inconvenience, the house was fully twelve miles from the mission.

Jenkins preached one Sunday and then hastened back to New Castle. There he found George Ross about to depart for Chester in Nichols' place, unless he could persuade the New Castle congregation to give him a house to live in. Jenkins, however, was willing to serve New Castle, "the second town in the province which lies near the sea," for the same stipend Ross had been receiving and without a house. Jenkins had another advantage over Ross in that he spoke Welsh and could conduct services in that language for the numerous Welsh settlers of New Castle County.

The exchange was accordingly completed—as Jenkins and Ross thought—to everyone's satisfaction. The complaints of the Appoquinimy congregation and of the Rev. Evan Evans of Philadelphia soon stopped the missionaries' salaries, and after six months at New Castle Jenkins returned to his mission. He died shortly thereafter on July 30, 1709, and was buried at Trinity Church, Oxford, in Philadelphia.

Jenkins' chief claim to fame is his 2,000-word letter to the Society describing the state of religion on the Delaware in 1708.¹ John Talbot reported in his letter to the S. P. G., dated September 27, 1709, that Jenkins "was baited to Death with Muscatoes & blood thirsty Galknippers." Jenkins was, however, a sick man from the time he left Portsmouth, and this must be taken into consideration. Talbot informed the Society that he and Evans buried Jenkins at a cost of £20 to themselves, since he was destitute, having received no allowance from the Society.²

A log church had been built at the mission prior to Jenkins' arrival, and had been served by both Thomas Crawford of Dover and Richard Sewell from Maryland. While it had been hoped that Jenkins' ministry would build up the small congregation, his difficulties and his untimely death prevented this from happening. The mission remained vacant for many years. During this period the Swedish pastors, Eric Björk, Andrew Hessellius, and Samuel Hessellius officiated at least once a month.³ William Black, having been driven from Lewes by the fear of pirates, had given the people of Appoquinimy some reason to believe that they might have his services, but having received notice of his appointment to the parish at Accomac, Virginia, he went there instead.⁴ John Clubb, another Welshman, missionary at Oxford, and Evan Evans of Philadelphia, officiated from time to time,⁵ as did Thomas Halliday and John Holbrooke.⁶

¹See above, Chapter I; also, Frank J. Klingberg, "Religious Society on the Delaware in 1708 as seen by Thomas Jenkins," in *Historical Magazine of the Episcopal Church*, XIV (March, 1945) pp. 66-73, where the letter is given in full.

²For other accounts of Jenkins, see Perry, *Collections*, Pennsylvania, pp. 35, 36, 44, 45, 49, 50, 51, 55, 56, 57, 59, 61; *ibid.*, Del., 7, 8-12, 13, 14, 20, 21, 24; Pennington, *Apostle of New Jersey*, 121-124; Holcomb, *op. cit.*, 57-89; *SPG MSS*, A, vol. 4; Wilkie, *St. Anne's Church*.

³Perry, *Collections*, Pa., 61, 123-24.

⁴*Ibid.*

⁵*Ibid.*, 71-3.

⁶*Ibid.*, 21.

TROUBLE WITH THE REV. ALEXANDER CAMPBELL

In a letter dated London, August 25, 1726, David Humphreys, secretary to the Venerable Society, recommended Alexander Campbell to Governor Alexander Gordon as having been appointed to Appoquinimy.⁷ Thomas Noxon, clerk of the Appoquinimy vestry, wrote that Campbell arrived on December 20, 1726, and that the congregation found him a good preacher, but they questioned his conduct.⁸ Some of the parishioners admonished him because of his laxity, for which they had been inclined to excuse him because of his youth. When he continued as before, they addressed themselves to the neighboring clergy, who met at New Castle to consider the matter. The wardens and six vestrymen appeared, but Campbell was "conveniently sick in a neighboring government." The clergy agreed to inform the Society. The letter to the clergy is signed by the wardens and addressed to George Ross:

May the 8th, 1727

Reverend Gentlemen,

We the &c., Humbly request That whereas our said Church was for some time & frequently hath been destitute of a Minister through divers misfortunes, &c., to exercise the Ministerial Functions & administer the Blessed Sacraments of our Holy Church amongst us & our unwearied applications to the Bishops and Society at last being taken some notice of, did send a certain Alexander Campbell who being short of money at his first arrival we did pay him half of the sum we informed the Society (according to their request), we could pay yearly towards the support of a Minister and said Campbell not many days after having received the same behaved himself base & unseemly & persisting in the same to the great scandal of all Religion, notwithstanding our private admonitions and requests to him to the contrary, we therefore humbly pray you would advise & assist us in this deplorable condition to apprise & inform the Hon'ble Society how much they have been imposed on by the said Campbell's seeming qualification. The many crimes we allege or most of them we shall be ready to prove at your request either by oath or Deposition as follows, viz: Debauchery as Drinking to excess in all manner of company, Quarrelling Drunk or Sober, Fornication & adultery or great room for suspicion of them with Whites & Blacks but most frequently with White Servants & Negro Women & having but a slender regard to anything that is good by his life and Conversation & proving so great a scandal & ridicule to the Holy Religion we profess. We therefore once more heartily entreat you that you would with all convenient speed assist and join us in acquaint-

⁷*Penna. Archives*, Ser. 1, Vol. I, 191.

⁸May 12, 1733. *SPG, MSS*, B, 1, pt. 1, 93-101.

ing the said Society of the scandalous life and conversation of the said Alex^r Campbell as well as interceding and praying them not to leave us destitute of such a missionary as will prove a true Shepherd to Christ's Flock & who will heal the wounds of our present Teacher in our Church. In the doing of which, Gentlemen, you will not only do a singular service to our declining Congregation but infinitely oblige

Your most H^ble Servants,

ANDREW PETERSON

JOHN GOODING & others.

Meeting in New Castle on September 21, 1727, George Ross, Robert Weyman, William Becket, John Holbrooke, Archibald Cumming, of the English Church, and Samuel Hesselius, Peter Tranberg, and Andrew Windrussea, of the Swedish Church, joined in sending a letter to the Society, which told of the charges made by the congregation and recommended that Windrussea be appointed in Campbell's place.⁹

The following February Campbell wrote to the Society and asked that he be not judged until the results of a suit he had in court were known:

"I am now at Law against my infamous calumniators and now they have denied their own words in their plea and yet upon these words which they now disown my Name was innocently exposed to infamy. When a man is defamed what can he do more than to set his character to the test by having recourse to the Common Law since the Church is not established in this part of the world? This is my present case & I adjure all the members of the Society not to believe anything against me till I am heard for myself before equal Judges having my accusers face to face. Tho' my station in life is low, yet as my reputation has been hitherto untouched and unblemished I am not willing that every mortal should attack it with impunity when I am sensible of and can prove my innocency . . ."¹⁰

He enclosed six testimonials from various people including his physician, several Maryland clergy, Governor Gordon, and a number of parishioners and others living in Kent County. He was especially annoyed at the clergy for having made a decision against him without giving him the opportunity to answer the charges. He suggested that he would be willing to stand trial before two clergy appointed by the Society, and adds a postscript asking to be moved to another mission.

⁹Perry, *Collections*, II, 156.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, II, 156.

The Pennsylvania clergy, as we have seen, believed his illness at the time of their meeting was a subterfuge.

At least two Maryland clergy supported Campbell, for the Rev. Jacob Henderson, of St. Barnabas in Prince George's County, and the Rev. William Machonchie, of Port Tobacco, Durham, in Charles County, sent letters in his favor.¹¹

"1st. That there was a report spread in your cure of Appoquinimick that you had too much familiarity with Women. To which we answer that Reports of that nature are very common in these parts of the world where people give too much liberty to their Tongue to blacken the characters even of the most Innocent. . . ."

In the meantime Walter Hackett was appointed to Appoquinimy, and entered upon his work on May 1, 1729. He found his work difficult because of the differences of opinion with regard to Campbell. Many, Hackett said, were inflamed against all Church clergy, but Campbell having removed from the scene, things began to quiet down, and at the monthly communions he had between 16 and 24 communicants.¹² Writing to the governor, the bishop of London said:

"The Society have resolv'd to remove Mr. Campbell to another place as soon as he shall have clear'd himself by due course of Law From the matter wch have been laid to his charge; for I find, whether he is guilty or innocent, there is no hope of his doing good where he is; and if he has been guilty of *Indiscretions* only, it may reasonably be presum'd, that ye difficulties and misfortunes they have brought upon him, will make him more wise and cautious in another mission."¹³

Campbell went on to the mission at Brookhaven, Long Island, New York, but in two letters from that place he asked to be sent to St. James', Whiteclay Creek, because he had cleared himself at Appoquinimy, because the parishioners at Whiteclay want him, and because a Mr. Daniel Dwight from Brookhaven was going to England for holy orders with the recommendation of the Brookhaven congregation that he be appointed to that mission.¹⁴ The people of St. James', he said, "love me to a man, and I love them, and I hope I have done some good among them."

In the meantime a council meeting was held in Philadelphia, September 20, 1729, at which a letter signed Brutus or Sassius, which

¹¹Perry, *Collections*, II, 159 ff.

¹²*Ibid.*, II, 166.

¹³*Penna. Archives*, Ser. 1, I: 236.

¹⁴*SPG MSS*, B, 1: 160-165; B, 1: 176-7. Pages 181-204 of this volume contain papers on the Campbell case which the S. P. G. does not want copied.

had been printed in Andrew Bradford's paper, numbered 506, was discussed and termed libelous against king and government. They decided that it tended to incite the people against the authorities. Upon examination Bradford said that the letter had been written by Campbell, "a Parson of dissolute Character, who had lived for some time in Newcastle County, but his scandalous behaviours proving intolerable to his hearers there, he removed to Long Island . . ." Bradford was warned against printing such things, and since Campbell was no longer in Pennsylvania, it was decided to drop the matter.¹⁵

Noxon had been one of Campbell's first accusers as clerk of the vestry. During May and June, 1733, he wrote several letters to the S. P. G. to inform them that Campbell had brought suit against six parishioners, and that by mismanagement of the case one parishioner was caused to pay £10 damages. Campbell then withdrew the charges. On August 20, 1732, he returned to the parish and the parishioners received him gladly, but when he demanded payment upon the subscriptions for his support, altercations broke out and it was charged that he had been gone five months.¹⁶

It appears that Campbell took his case into court and won one action, then feeling that his honor was vindicated, and having no desire to be vindictive, he withdrew the rest of the cases. He was dropped from the rolls of the Society, but this may have been the result of his political writings.¹⁷

In spite of his difficulties at Appoquinimy, Campbell made a very good impression upon the parishioners at Whiteclay Creek, so much so that they were willing to have him as their pastor even after this whole affair had been brought into the open. The petition of the congregation pointed out that they expected Ross to oppose any appointment to their parish because he had always considered St. James' a chapel of ease to New Castle.¹⁸

THE REV. WALTER HACKETT AND THE NEW MARRIAGE LAW

Walter Hackett, who succeeded Campbell, was Ross' son-in-law, and in addition to serving Appoquinimy, he officiated at St. Mary

¹⁵*Colonial Records, Pennsylvania*, III: 369.

¹⁶*SPG MSS*, B, I, pt. 1, 84; B, I, pt. 1, 85-7; B, I, pt. 1, 88-92.

¹⁷Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G.*, 855. Bishop Perry's *Collections*, Volume V, are wrong in listing him in the index as having served after 1732 at Burlington. It is the Rev. Colin Campbell who is mentioned on pages 79-81 of this volume. He served at Burlington from 1738 to 1766. See Hills, *History of the Church in Burlington*, 254-290.

¹⁸Perry, *Collections*, V: 53.

Anne's at the head of the Elk, which he divided with Ross.¹⁹ The Whiteclay congregation used this as an argument against the continuation of Ross' supervision of their parish.

During his incumbency at Appoquinimy, Walter Hackett joined in the protest of the clergy of Pennsylvania opposing the new marriage law. This act, titled "A Supplement to an act for Preventing Clandestine Marriages,"²⁰ provided:

1. That justices of the peace could not subscribe their names to the "publication" of a marriage about to be solemnized unless they had received a certificate showing that the persons under 21 years of age or indentured were marrying with the consent of parent, guardian or master.
2. That no banns were to be published unless one party to the marriage lived in the town, county, or city in which the marriage was to take place.
3. Unless such "publication" took place, the person solemnizing the marriage was subject to a fine of £50.
4. Marriages were permitted to take place in religious societies to which the parties belonged, provided the parents, etc. were given 21 days' notice.
5. Licenses were to be permitted with the approval of parents, guardians, or masters.

The clergy meeting in New Castle on April 16, 1730, protested against the new law on the ground that it was contrary, or at least in addition to, the laws of the realm, and also was against the privileges granted to the Church of England clergy by Penn's charter. They said that the clergy would be liable to fines if they followed the rules of the Society.

Walter Hackett married someone contrary to this law and a fine was imposed. Writing of this, Commissary Cumming of Christ Church, Philadelphia, said:

" . . . as to Mr. Hackets affair, our Governor did prosecute him, and though as I'm told there was no law in these Counties to found the action upon, yet he being frightened submitted to the Court, and was fined 60 Lib. Ster. I can't, however, think the payment will be insisted upon . . ."²¹

Hackett died on March 7, 1733-4, and was buried at the east end of Immanuel Church, New Castle. His tombstone gives his age as 33, and his place of birth as Fraserburg, in Banff, a province of Scotland. He left a widow and two small children, for whom Ross asked the Society's bounty.

¹⁹Perry, *Collections*, V: 313.

²⁰*Laws of Delaware*, 2 Geo. II; Perry, *Collections*, II: 175 ff.

²¹Letter of Cumming to the bishop of London, March 29, 1732.

THE REV. JOHN PUGH

The Rev. John Pugh arrived at Philadelphia from the Downs in England on May 28, 1735. The passage, his companion, the Rev. William Lindsay,²² wrote, was "very dangerous . . . with contrary and stormy winds," and took about ten weeks. Arriving at Appoquinimy, he found it in a very discouraging condition—the people were "much debauched with loose and Atheistical principles," they refused to have their children baptized, and though they subscribed £45 toward his support, he got practically nothing of it. His collector, he said, was of the opinion that the Society provided a sufficient allowance, and would not stir himself to collect the subscriptions.

His original mission was Appoquinimy and "St. George's C[hapel] a Chapel of ease to the Chapel, about 12 miles from it . . .,"²³ but by April 10, 1745, he was also going to Duck Creek every third Sunday.²⁴ At this time he had the assistance of the Rev. Hugh Jones, rector of St. Stephen's parish in Cecil County, Maryland, who took services at Appoquinimy when Pugh was at one of the other churches. Jones had been assisting at Appoquinimy prior to Pugh's arrival.²⁵

His only other letter is dated November 28, 1738, in which he asked the advice of the Society, for his people objected to sureties at the baptism of their children.²⁶

Pugh died on August 27, 1745, and there are several letters asking financial assistance for his wife.²⁷

LONG MINISTRY OF THE REV. PHILIP READING

Philip Reading, the next incumbent, was the son of a parson by the same name who was at one time librarian at Sion College, London.²⁸ After being educated at Winchester School and University College, Oxford, he came to Pennsylvania as a tutor in a private family. In this capacity he remained in Pennsylvania for three years. The Rev. Robert Jenney requested his appointment as catechist at Christ Church, Philadelphia, on November 17, 1745, but this was not

²²Appointed to Bristol and parts adjacent.

²³Perry, *Collections*, II: 195-6.

²⁴SPG MSS, B, 12, 52.

²⁵Perry, *Collections*, IV: 322.

²⁶*Ibid.*, II: 201.

²⁷SPG MSS, B, 12, 54; B, 15, 156 gives the date of his death as August 30, but his will, probated May 20, 1746, gives the date as August 27. See *New Castle Wills*, Misc. 1, 391.

²⁸It is interesting to observe that the Bray Manuscripts (Bray was one of the founders of the S. P. G.) are in Sion College Library, and were bequeathed by Dr. Bray. Reading, Sr. was also incumbent of St. Alphage's Church, London.

granted.²⁹ Shortly after John Pugh died, Commissary Jenney, the clergy of Pennsylvania, and the church wardens and vestry of Appoquinimy recommended Reading for that vacancy.³⁰ He sailed for England and was ordained. His license for Pennsylvania is dated April 7, 1746.³¹

Arriving in New York in the middle of July, he traveled on to his mission and reached it on the 27th of July, 1746. Here he found that the congregation was quite happy to receive him and that a number of dissenters were frequenting the services of the Church, but that the rest of the country side was in the full throes of a revival. Like all missionaries coming to the Lower Countries, he was almost immediately prostrated with fever. This resulted in a decrease in his stipend from the congregation, for they were without any services during his illness.

About this time Alexander Hogg left 300 acres of unimproved land to the Church.³² Duck Creek, the neighboring church to the south, met with Reading's disapproval because they had a reader, Francis Poulteney, whom Reading reported as having an unsavory reputation.³³ The next March, however, this situation was cleared up by the death of the reader. Reading's work was also influenced by another death about this time. The New Light preacher in the neighborhood died, and the struggle between the different parties in that church so divided the congregation that many were induced to attend St. Anne's.³⁴

Although his congregations were good, before long Reading was asking the Society for tracts which he might distribute among his congregations, because he found they had not the zeal for religion which he found among the dissenters:

"Though my situation in the Ministry does not furnish opportunities of making conversions among such as are literally Infidels, yet the stedfastness and good order of my congregations in the publick duties of Religion furnish abundant reasons for thankfulness to the Divine goodness for crowning my labours with a good degree of success. It is however a complaint but too well grounded that Family Religion is almost discarded from among the members of the Church of England whilst Dissenters of various denominations are very punctual in that respect. This

²⁹S. P. G. *Minutes*, Church Historical Society, Feb. 21, 1745.

³⁰Fulham Mss in *Collections* of the Protestant Episcopal Historical Society, 1851, p. 117.

³¹Perry, *Collections*, II, 236-7.

³²SPG MSS, B, 16, p. 94.

³³*Ibid.*, B, 14, p. 207; Perry, V, 88-90.

³⁴Perry, II, 244-5.

neglect I take to be in a great measure owing to the want of proper form for that purpose; and therefore humbly represent it to the Honorable Society, earnestly desiring that I may be supplied with some suitable tracts to be dispersed among the People, not doubting but that they will readily answer the end of such a seasonable present, and take good care that in private as well as Public they and their households shall serve the Lord." ³⁵

After the death of the Rev. Thomas Bluett of Dover, Reading supplied that congregation as well as Duck Creek until the arrival of the Rev. Hugh Neill in 1750. ³⁶

On April 30, 1760, all of the clergy of Pennsylvania met in convention at Christ Church, Philadelphia, to consider the case of the Rev. William Macclenaghan, who was creating a disturbance in Christ Church by attempting to have himself appointed assistant minister of that congregation. Philip Reading was present at this meeting and joined in the unanimous vote censuring the Presbyterian ministers of the Synod of New Jersey and Pennsylvania for having written a testimonial in favor of Macclenaghan.

At this session Reading reported that his mission was the first church of any denomination in that section of the country, and that while Whitefield's influence had caused some defections, he still had about seventy communicants. He felt that the greatest importance of his mission lay in the fact that it was near "a very considerable Popish Seminary . . . under the Direction of the Jesuits." A Roman Catholic priest had formerly been in the habit of saying mass within the bounds of Appoquiniminck Mission, but after Reading moved to within a short distance of the place, the masses were discontinued.

All of the clergy at the meeting joined in a letter to the archbishop of Canterbury in which among other things they pointed out that:

"The Inhabitants of the Country of European Extraction are quite deprived of the benefits arising from the Episcopal Office & particularly of the Apostolic Rite of Confirmation. Very few have either inclination or capacity to attend to these essential differences by which the Constitution of our Church is distinguish'd." ³⁷

In 1764 he could record that visitors to his mission "have expressed a very agreeable surprise at finding so decent and regular

³⁵Perry, *Collections*, II, 261.

³⁶SPG MSS, B, 17, 155.

³⁷*Ibid.*, 158.

congregation in this remote part of the world,"³⁸ and the next year he set out to build a new church, which may justly be called his memorial, for it is the evident fruit of a long ministry in an out-of-the-way part of the world.³⁹

Before he could begin his building project, he had asked permission to remove to Trenton. This permission was granted, and on September 5, 1766, he thanked the Society for granting the permission, but asked leave to remain where he was.⁴⁰ Three years later he became a charter member of the "Corporation for the Relief of Widows and Children of Clergymen, in the Communion of the Church of England, in America," and by 1771 his church was finally nearing completion.

On September 23, 1771, he wrote a rather pathetic letter to Richard Peters, asking to be excused from attending a meeting of the clergy in Philadelphia. Its tone is very plaintive, and in the letter he points out that he is prevented from attending because Mr. Aeneas Ross is ill, because he (Reading) is lame in the right arm and left leg, and because he has no equipage in which to travel so far. He further excuses himself because he is finishing his church. Then he goes on to say that he has no taste for systems of theology, that he has few books of value, that he clings to the Bible, and that reading it, one needs only the spirit of light and truth.⁴¹ Philip Reading was only in his fifties when he wrote this letter, but one gathers from it that he had lost almost every semblance of his university training, and had become a discouraged, albeit a pietistic, old man.⁴²

Beginning at least as early as November 11, 1769, he ministered to Augustine Parish, Cecil County, Maryland (near the present Chesapeake City), in place of the rector who had returned "to the place of his nativity" without resigning.⁴³ By 1772 the resignation was secured, and Reading wrote the Society that the church was old and in a ruinous condition, that its income was so small that it was difficult to procure a clergyman for it, and that the Methodists and other dissenters had made great inroads in the parish. Governor Robert Eden was prevailed upon by a former pupil of Reading's to appoint him to the vacancy and did so, Reading beginning his new status as of May 23, 1773.

³⁸*SPG MSS* B, 363.

³⁹*Ibid.*, 382-3

⁴⁰*SPG Minutes*, Church Hist. Soc., 121.

⁴¹Smith, *William Smith*, 389-443; *SPG MSS*, B, 21, 193; B, 21, 194; B, 21, 196.

⁴²*Peters Papers MSS* (Hist. Soc. Penna.), VII, 79.

⁴³*SPG MSS*, B, 21, 200.

He points out that already liberty and patriotism had so far advanced among the people of Maryland that they were refusing to pay for the support of the Establishment on the ground that there was a flaw in the bill which had been enacted covering the Church's status.⁴⁴

Reading was outstanding in his defence of the mother country's rights and prerogatives. On March 15, 1775, he wrote:

"The Church here continues in as good a state as can be expected in these times of threatening and danger. Many are the rebuffs I am obliged to encounter on the subject of the present commotions, notwithstanding which I am not deterred or discouraged from inculcating the principles of Loyalty to our most gracious Sovereign and a due submission to the powers of Government on all proper occasions."⁴⁵

Joining with eleven other clergymen of the Church of England at the annual meeting of the Corporation for the Relief of the Widows and Children of Clergymen on October 6, 1775, in a letter to the bishop of London, they said that they worked among all men for a solution of the troubles which would produce a "speedy and permanent reconciliation between the Mother Country and her Colonies."⁴⁶

The following March Reading had "No More Passive Obedience and Non Resistance" scribbled upon his church door. The captain of the militia brought his company to church on a day of public fast and was later admonished by some of the populace because he had gone to hear "that old wretch preach, who was always an enemy to the present measures."⁴⁷ Although he was taken to task for continuing the use of the state prayers, he felt that inasmuch as he had taken an oath to use the liturgy, he was not capable of dispensing himself from that obligation. He reported that his own congregation seemed to be satisfied with his actions, but that the non-members objected to his position.⁴⁸

A full account of his actions after the Declaration of Independence will be considered in Chapter IX; it is sufficient to say here that he remained loyal to the English throne until his death in 1778, when he was buried near the door of the church he had built. From August, 1776, he did not hold services in the church, although he was active in performing all other ministerial functions.⁴⁹ Samuel Magaw, at least, conducted an occasional service in St. Anne's during the Revolution.⁵⁰

⁴⁴Perry, *Collections*, II, 463-5.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, II, 469.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, II, 481.

⁴⁷MS letter in *Gratz Collection*, (Historical Society of Pennsylvania). Case 8, Box 24.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*

⁴⁹Perry, *Collections*, II 482.

⁵⁰See Chapter IV, below.

CHAPTER III

THE KENT MISSION

IT IS difficult to give an exact date for the first Anglican service in Kent County, but as early as 4 mo. 21st, 1688, Elizabeth Haile, widow, was married "according to the laws of the Church of England" to Arthur Medston at the home of John and Elizabeth Brinckloe.¹ At least three other marriages are recorded in the deeds of the county as being performed by Joseph Leach, "Minister of the Church of England," between 1699 and 1700. However, as in other parts of the Three Lower Counties, no permanent work was begun until after the formation of the Venerable Society.

According to the rules of the Society, it was necessary for twenty members of the Church of England to petition the Society for assistance before a missionary would be appointed. In later times, when disturbances arose, this quota of twenty sometimes forced missions to be vacant for a period of years while parishioners made up their quarrels, but at least the system prevented the Society from sending a missionary into a field where there would be no encouragement whatever.

On August 30, 1703, twenty-one "Inhabitants of Dover, representing the increase of Sin and Crime and the consequent great want of a minister of the Gospel," petitioned the bishop of London that a missionary be sent them, and stated that £55, 17s. had been pledged for his support.²

THE REV. THOMAS CRAWFORD AND HIS DIFFICULTIES

The Rev. Thomas Crawford was appointed with a salary of £50 and an allowance of £15 for books.³ On December 15, 1704, he was granted an advance of the second half of his year's salary.⁴ Apparently he had been appointed previous to this time and the first half year's salary granted him. On March 2, 1705, he was given a Common Prayer Book and a Book of Homilies, but by the sixteenth of the

¹Kent County Deed Book, C, 4.

²Gibson, Lewis W., *A Sermon preached in Christ Church on Thanksgiving Day, November 24, 1887*. MSS.

³Anderson, James S. M., *The History of the Church of England in the Colonies and Foreign Dependencies of the British Empire* (III vols., London: Rivington, 1845) II, 764. He received his £20 traveling expenses on January 18, 1703-4. (Fothergill, *op. cit.*, 22.)

⁴Turner, *op. cit.*, 161.

same month the question was raised as to why he had not departed for his mission. The secretary recorded:

“It appearing that it was not his fault that he has been so long detain'd from his Mission, Agreed that a 5th part of his second years Salary be advanced to the said Mr. Crawford, the better to enable him to pform his said Mission.”⁵

On August 27, 1705, he wrote from Philadelphia to inform the secretary that he had arrived at that city and had been lodged, together with two other clergymen who came with him, at the home of the Rev. Evan Evans, and that Mr. Evans had invited him to preach in Christ Church. He intended to proceed to his mission.⁶ More than two months later, November 7, 1705, he wrote from Burlington, New Jersey, to say that he went down to his mission and spent one Sunday there, but that he was then seized with a violent illness and was forced to leave. Consequently he asked to be appointed to the east side of Raritan River, Shrewsbury or Hopewell, New Jersey. This was agreed to by the Society on March 28, 1706, but in the meantime Crawford returned to Kent and became more settled.

Sometime later he answered a letter from the secretary of the S. P. G. He excused himself from making the reports required by the Society on the ground that he had never heard of the forms which they required. Concerning the state of his county and mission, he said that he had no idea how many people were in the county because he had never seen the court roll:

“As to the number of my hearers I sometimes have more sometimes less according to the weather, I preach in the Church and two or three places more, the County being above fifty miles long, and those that are my hearers one day, not many are the next, and sometimes I have 30, 40, 50, 70, 100, 150, and upwards may be 200. A great many whereof (I think) have some Tincture of Religion, at least of well meaning; But how many of them are (*in omnibus*) for the Church of England as by law established there, I know not; some of them I know are of a dissenting temper in Government (which I do not admire there being at my entry not one man in the County that understand the Prayer Book, no not so far as to answer the Psalms or other parts of the service till I taught them privately) but all are satisfied with the Doctrine of the Church, so that they have no Grudge on that Account, only when some itinerant Presbyterian Preachers come amongst us some make breaches to go hear them, for all their sermons with

⁵Turner, *op. cit.*, 161.

⁶*Ibid.*

us have been on Work days but many will not, so that I have none but a heathenish people called Quakers (several thereof are come over) that absent from the Worship of God as opportunity offers, other opinions make no debate to hear me, but how many Quakers there is I know not, but if we had the Government established we should have power. . . .

As for my order in preaching I preach sometimes twice a week I have occasionally thrice, but never fail four times in three weeks, one Sunday in the upper end of the County, another in the Church, the third in the lower end, and then a week days sermon in some place and then the following Sunday in the Church, &c. I catechise the Children before the sermon all Summer, cold weather I don't; . . .

As for their names that subscribe to me, and their sums, I have not the catalogue, I have seen it, but the Church Warden has it, only I tell you that you have all in that address for a minister to Dover Hundred sent to my Ld. of London, which (if I remember) I deliver'd to the Society, and several of the best of those are dead, in whose place I have this year not before got some small Subscriptions; but our Subscriptions in America are larger than our Benefice: but whatever the subscriptions be, this I can say upon the word of a Minister that these three years I have been in this place, I have not had twenty pounds Pennsylvania money p. ann; which is a small Benefice, considering it is payd me not in Silver, but as people are able in corn, &c. Tis true there is more than £50 Pennsylvania money subscribed,—but I cannot have it, some are backward, many pretend they are not able the years are so badd, and to use the Law for it I never will, for that will frustrate my Mission and the designs of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, render my person odious to them, and so my Ministry and Preaching ineffectual, and I be look't upon as an hireling only; severe methods are not to be taken here, to gain converts by, so whatever is subscribed is to no advantage to me while it is not payd, but what I receive you shall have a yearly account. . . .'⁷

While preaching in three places in Kent in addition to the church at Dover, Crawford also preached in Lewes.⁸ The Dover Hundred Church was nearly finished on August 30, 1708, and he wrote to the bishop of London requesting assistance in obtaining a surplice and a pulpit cloth which the congregation was not able to buy. The S. P. G. supplied these at a cost of ten pounds and increased his stipend by twelve pounds.

Crawford organized a Society for the Reformation of Manners and used his vestry as his principal informers, Captain "Rodeny," justice of the peace, heading up the organization. After the society had been meeting monthly for a while, a number of convictions were

⁷Turner, *op. cit.*, 162 ff.

⁸See below, Chapter IV.

had, the work became easier, and finally meetings were held quarterly.⁹

These societies for the reformation of manners had been formed in London during the latter part of the seventeenth century. The penal laws against swearing, vice, and immorality all had provisions for the rewarding of informers, but enforcement of the statutes had become extremely lax. Because the state of morality had sunk so low in England, it seemed impossible for the state to enforce the law, and groups of gentlemen organized to inform against drunkenness, profane cursing and swearing, profanation of the Sabbath, prostitution and the like. The informers received one-third of the penalty. The societies not only performed the task of informers, but also checked the court lists against the warrants which had been sworn to.

A vigorous campaign was carried on by the distribution of pamphlets, subscriptions were made by members to further the educational work of the societies, absences from regular meetings incurred fines, new members were carefully scrutinized, and proceedings were secret.

With the encouragement of Queen Mary, Archbishop Tenison, Bishop Compton, and others, the societies flourished for a time, but their pious intentions were soon turned aside by unscrupulous persons who used them for their own devices. Both Defoe and Swift were outspoken in their opposition, largely because of the policy of touching only the meaner sort of criminals.¹⁰ Some think they declined by reason of their Whiggish politics after the accession of Anne,¹¹ but undoubtedly the practice of informing against a large section of the population could not remain long in favor. The period from 1714 to 1738 marked the decline of the societies in England. I have found only this one instance of their being organized in either Pennsylvania or Delaware.

The arrival of William Black as missionary to Sussex brought relief to Crawford from his duties in that county, but it brought him greater difficulties. Crawford had left his wife in England when he came to America, and Black brought news of her death.¹² Upon re-

⁹Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

¹⁰"Religious societies, though begun in excellent intention, and by persons of true piety, are said, I know not whether truly or not, to have dwindled into factious clubs, and grown a trade to enrich little knavish informers of the meanest rank, such as common constables, and broken shopkeepers." Jonathon Swift, *A Project for the Advancement of Religion*, in *Works*, ed. Walter Scott (Edinburgh: 1814) viii, 221.

¹¹Ollard, S. L. and Crosse, Gordon, *A Dictionary of English Church History* (London: Mowbray, 1912). Also Legg, J. W., *English Church Life* (New York: Longmans, 1914) 301 ff.

¹²Turner, *op. cit.*, 169. Crawford also says that the first wife's brother informed him of her death, but of the brother I have found no trace.

ceipt of this information Crawford married Elizabeth Meston, daughter of Arthur Meston and Elizabeth Brinckloe, and granddaughter of John Brinckloe, all Dover parishioners.¹³ Rumors soon began to circulate that the first Mrs. Crawford was still living. On August 27, 1709, the Rev. Evan Evans wrote to the Society:

“Upon the whole matter it is a deplorable thing that no Missionary in this Province beside myself, but Mr. Crawford of Dover hundred whose labors I hear will prove unsuccessful by reason of an unhappy rumour of his having another wife in Scotland which was spread by one Wallace a merchant that came from thence in January last at which time he affirmed his first wife was alive. I would not upon any account say that I believe him to be guilty of so wicked a charge but I think it my duty to advise the Honorable Society of what is the current report of this Country that they may take such measures as they in their wisdom shall think fit.”¹⁴

At the monthly meeting of the Society on October 21, 1709, a petition was presented from the first Mrs. Crawford, asking that some portion of his salary be paid to her until she could join her husband in America. The Society referred this to a committee. Then on November 18, 1709, the secretary reported from the committee that they had considered Mrs. Crawford's petition, that she appeared to be the lawful wife of Crawford, that Lind, Crawford's attorney, had not paid anything to her because he had no orders to do so from Crawford, and that she had received no more than ten pounds from Crawford five years previously. The Society agreed to suspend his salary until further information could be had.¹⁵

Crawford lost no time in getting back to London. He dated his first London letter December 26, 1709, but he evidently failed to make his position clear before he left America for Evans wrote that he had “deserted his Parish.”¹⁶ The bishop of London was under the same impression, “the Church which Mr. Crawford hath lately deserted . . .”¹⁷ Arriving in London he requested funds from the Society in order that he might appear before them in proper clothing. This is understandable; sea voyages in those days must have made one's clothing far from presentable. On December 26, 1709, and January 7, 1709/10, he repeated this request and offered, at his appearing before

¹³Elizabeth was born 12th month, 28th day, 1692 (Recorder of Deeds, Dover). She would have been between sixteen and seventeen years of age at the time of her marriage.

¹⁴Perry, *Collections*, II, 49.

¹⁵Turner, *op. cit.*, 166.

¹⁶*SPG MSS*, A, V, 58.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, 127.

the Society, to show testimonials from her brother and from Black under the seal of the justices "in that place" that they had reported that Elizabeth Watson, the first wife, whom he berates as a common character, was dead.¹⁸ Here we are left with an impasse, for there are three letters concerning Crawford at this time which the Society still refuses permission to copy. We do not know exactly what was done. Apparently the Society tried to "muddle through" a difficult situation by refusing to appropriate money for Crawford, and by doing nothing else. David Humphreys, a secretary of the S. P. G., wrote his *Historical Account of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts* in 1730. In it he stated that Crawford "returned to England in 1710." Of course this is true, but it leaves the impression that he never returned to Kent County. He did indeed return, even if not as an employee of the Society.

APPOINTMENT OF THE REV. JACOB HENDERSON

In Crawford's place the Society appointed the Rev. Jacob Henderson, a native of Ireland. He was born in Glenary, educated at Glasgow, and was ordained by the bishop of London on June 5, 1710. A letter signed by Evan Evans, John Talbot, Charles Gookin, and Robert Quarry, tells of his reception:

"Honored Sir,

The Reverend Mr. Henderson, the Honorable Society's Missionary to Dover Hundred, arrived safe here about a month ago, and after producing his powers from the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of London and Honorable Society to the Governor of this Province, repaired to the said Dover Hundred, where the people are no ways disposed to receive him, but rather dispute his powers than take any care to provide a Lodging for him, and he cannot get any place to lodge in but the public inn of the county, no ways convenient or proper for him. The Gentleman that promoted all manner of good in the place (Captain Rodney), is now dead, and indeed all manner of good, dead with him. There are other two persons of substance there, Captain Brinklow and Arthur Medston, the one Grandfather and the other father to the wife that Mr. Crawford married there. Her father, Arthur Medston, is a presbyterian, and took a great deal of pains to raise scruples against the Gentleman's credentials. The Land upon which the church is built being given by a presbyterian, and the Deed drawn so any Orthodox minister may preach in that church, and the greatest number of the people being presbyterians, this Arthur Medstone says that they may as well bring in a presby-

¹⁸Turner, *op. cit.*, 167-9.

terian minister as him, and by this means the people are backwards in doing anything to promote his residing among them. When Mr. Crawford came first here, Captain Rodney and the other two persons before mentioned, made him welcome to their houses to lodge, but now the case is altered, for they complain that any should be sent there when *Mr. Crawford is neither silenced nor suspended*¹⁹; whether Mr. Crawford has any hand in this opposition or not we cannot tell, only it is very hard on Mr. Henderson in the meantime, and abstracting from these two persons, Mr. Crawford's relations, there is no body else can give him any manner of entertainment. . . .'²⁰

It would appear from this letter that Crawford had returned to Dover Hundred and was in some measure officiating, else why the statement "neither silenced nor suspended?" There is no other evidence of his officiating, however, so he must eventually have lived as a layman.²¹ Henderson stayed in Dover less than nine months and was appointed to New Castle. His work in that parish has already been noted.

RETURN OF CRAWFORD

Further evidence of Crawford's return to Dover Hundred is to be found in the *Deed Books* of Kent County. On May 10, 1721, John Brinckloe, the grandfather of Elizabeth (Meston) Crawford, named Thomas Crawford as his executor. On December 9, 1721, Elizabeth Brinckloe, widow of John, made her will, and in addition to naming Thomas Crawford as her executor, made bequests to Elizabeth Crawford, Mary Crawford, Evis Crawford, and Letitia Crawford, great grandchildren, the children of Thomas and Elizabeth Crawford.

On April 17, 1722, Thomas Crawford bought 195 acres of land and shortly thereafter he bought 145 acres.²² On March 23, 1729, he bought two lots (2 A.) in Dover. These lots adjoin those upon which the old Presbyterian Church is located. On April 16, 1730, he bought 20 acres of land in Little Creek Hundred.²³

Elizabeth (Meston) Crawford died prior to December 9, 1721, because her grandmother, Elizabeth Brinckloe, wrote that her granddaughter was dead when she made her will on that date.²⁴ Thomas Crawford then married Katherine French, probably about 1731. She

¹⁹Italics not in original.

²⁰Perry, *op. cit.*, VII, 64.

²¹Strangely enough the other missionaries make no mention of him.

²²*Kent County Deed Book*, G, 85.

²³*Ibid.*, K, 4.

²⁴*Kent County Will Book*, D, 62.

survived him and married Walter Dickinson. It was common in those days for a man to deed property to his minor children when he was about to remarry, and we find Crawford deeded to his daughter, Mary, for love, etc. a parcel of land containing fifty acres, "*from immediately after my decease.*" The next day he deeded 143 acres to his daughter, Letitia, "*from and immediately after my decease.*"²⁵ Letters of administration were granted December 12, 1732, on the estate of Thomas Crawford to Katherine Crawford and David Rees.²⁶

The case of the Rev. Thomas Crawford is not an easy one. He appears to have done a good piece of work in Kent County, and apparently he married the second time in all innocence. The Society, however, could not employ a bigamist as a missionary, even though he might be the victim of unusual circumstances, and even though the first wife may have been unfaithful. The bishop of London seems to have avoided taking any action in the matter, and the most important people of Dover Hundred supported Crawford.

There is no evidence other than that mentioned that Crawford officiated after his return to Dover, but after the fiasco of appointing Henderson to the mission and the poor reception tendered him, the Society never appointed another missionary until after Crawford's death. In 1715, the Rev. George Ross wrote from New Castle:

" . . . Many of the Church at Dover Hundred were ready to revolt from ye church because they think themselves neglected by the Hon'ble Board, indeed they were about settling a Presbyterian Teacher in their church; but that design was entirely ruined by my preaching amongst them that very Sunday the Dissenters were to take possession of one of our Pulpits. They are now served once a month which is all can be done by the clergy of Pennsylvania who are very few in number . . ."²⁷

How long this arrangement continued we do not know, for it is not mentioned again by Ross or by any other missionary. In 1722 a petition was signed by Thomas French and 125 others stating that they had had no minister since 1711, and asking that one be sent. Nothing was done. Again, on February 20, 1725, a petition was signed by 84 "Certified Communicants In St. John's Parish of Kent County on Delaware" asking for a missionary, but none was sent.²⁸ This is the first record of a name for the Dover Hundred Parish. Previously it was merely called the "Mission" or "Church" in Dover

²⁵*Kent County Will Book*, L, 144.

²⁶*Ibid.*, H, 34.

²⁷Turner, *op. cit.*, 158.

²⁸*Ibid.*

Hundred. The name changed several times before arriving at the present name of Christ Church. In 1727 a petition was sent to the archbishop of Canterbury, signed by sixty inhabitants of Kent, asking for a missionary, but no action was taken until 1731.²⁹ Possibly the Society felt that Crawford had some hand in the rejection of Henderson and they were unwilling to risk another rebuff, or it may be that they felt some scruples in the action taken against Crawford. The three suppressed letters may some day throw some light upon these questions.

THE REV. GEORGE FRAZER

Shortly before November 12, 1733, the Rev. George Frazer arrived as the new missionary and found the church in a ruinous condition. A subscription of £100 was immediately raised for a new brick church in the newly laid out village of Dover, which Frazer reported contained fifteen or sixteen families. He seems to have removed from Kent in 1735. Where he went immediately we do not know, but in 1754 and as late as 1758 he was minister of Dale parish, in Chesterfield County, Virginia. How long he continued afterwards the records do not say.^{29a}

THE REV. ARTHUR USSHER

On June 4, 1738, the inhabitants of Dover wrote thanking the Society for sending to them the Rev. Arthur Ussher³⁰ (or Usher), "by whose diligent Endeavors they daily improve . . . and that he is regarded by all Sects and professions among them for his exemplary life."³¹ Like all missionaries who came to lower Delaware, he was immediately prostrated by the "fever and ague"—probably malaria. Writing in October of 1740, he reported that the brick church had been finished.³² It could not have been finished in our sense of the word, for in the following year he wrote:

"The Church at Dover is not yet finished, but I hope it will not be long before it will be. The Chapel at the lower end of the County continues in the same condition it was two years ago, neither enclosed nor floored, which is owing to the lukewarmness of the people to all manner of religion."³³

²⁹Gibson, *op. cit.*, 13.

^{29a}Wm. Meade, *Old Churches, Ministers, and Families of Virginia*, Vol. I, 448.

³⁰Pascoe, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 852, lists Arthur Ussher as follows:

"S. Kent Co., Dover, &c., 1737-43; Lewes, 1744-8; Radnor, 1749-53. *Res.*" See below, Chapter IV, for his later ministry.

³¹*Minutes of the S. P. G.*, copy in the Church Historical Society.

³²Perry, *Collections*, V, 77.

³³Gibson, *op. cit.*, 16.

This was the church at Mispillion, later to be Milford. Some indication of the strength of the Church in Kent County may be found in his analysis of the religious ideas of the adult population. He lists 382 adults as belonging to the Church, 109 Quakers, 330 Dissenters, and 16 Papists. Three years later he reported that there were 1005 families in the county, of which 508 were Church of England, 302 Presbyterians, 60 Quakers, and 45 Papists.³⁴ In 1745 the mission at Lewes became vacant, and Usher asked to be transferred there. This was granted.

THE REV. THEOPHILUS MORRIS

The Rev. Theophilus Morris succeeded Usher that same year, but died within a few months. Dr. Pascoe, Keeper of the Records of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, states that Morris held an A. B. from Dublin, and that he was an itinerant missionary at Westhaven, Waterbury, and Derby, in Connecticut, from 1740 to 1743, and that he was transferred to Lewes in that year and died in 1745.³⁵ Dr. Beardsley confirms the first part of this statement, and quotes a letter of Mr. Morris dated September 13, 1740, to show that he was an Englishman, with the mission centering around West Haven where he made his home.³⁶ He appears to have been of an unbending nature, finding it difficult to get along with the Independents in that colony. This attitude also made him *persona non grata* with his brethren in Anglican orders, for he went out of his way to report the Rev. Samuel Johnson, the ablest of the Connecticut clergy, to the Society for consorting with the ministers of the other faith.³⁷

On June 16, 1748, the wardens and vestry of Dover wrote to the Society:

" . . . humbly beg leave to return our sincere and most hearty thanks for the great favour & pious care which your Honble Society have been pleased to show & continue towards us, & especially for your speedy & tender regard to our humble request & mellancholy circumstances occasioned by the decease of the Rev^d Mr Morris, your late missionary here . . ."

In the absence of further evidence, the best we seem to be able to do with regard to exact dates is that the Rev. Mr. Morris left Con-

³⁴Gibson, *op. cit.*, 17.

³⁵Pascoe, C. F., *Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G.* London: by the Society, 1901. 852-3.

³⁶Beardsley, E. Edwards, *The History of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut* (New York: Hurd & Houghton, 1866) Vol. I, pp. 117, 128, 130, 132, 135-136, 143.

³⁷*Ibid.*, I, 135-6. It was in the year 1742, during the excitement of Whitefield's visit to New England.

neciticut sometime after 1743, that he did not go to Lewes as Dr. Pascoe states, but went to the neighboring mission of Dover, and that he died sometime prior to June, 1748. Dr. Pascoe's date of 1745 is probably correct, because it may very well have been the end of that year, and usually eighteen months to two years elapsed between the death of a missionary and the reception of a new one. This delay was occasioned by the slowness of the mail and the fact that several months might pass before the Society could gather all the necessary material about a man and his mission.

THE REV. THOMAS BLUETT

The next incumbent was the Rev. Thomas Bluett. He had formerly been an attorney in Kent County, and had gone to England for ordination. Thomas Nixon and John Clayton, churchwardens at Dover, wrote on June 16, 1748, objecting to his appointment to that mission because his reputation before his ordination had not been good, and because his swearing and continued intoxication were a scandal to the community.³⁸ The Rev. Arthur Ussher, despite the fact that in his new position in Lewes he was responsible for that church and three others, wrote:

"Ever since Mr. Blewet arrived at ye mission of Dover, I have had the burthen of half ye County upon me, (He being as I believe will shortly appear) careless and negligent in ye performance of his Duty, and by his immoral conduct given offence to ye greater part of that Congregation."³⁹

Once more we have a report that the church in Dover is to be finished: "The good People of Dover received him gladly and proposed to finish with all Expedition the new Church raising there."⁴⁰ That this intention was not carried out will be seen from the report of the next missionary, the Rev. Hugh Neill, who reported in 1750 that the "Dover Church is in a miserable condition."⁴¹ The church was not the only thing in a miserable condition. The inhabitants were in the midst of another of their recurring epidemics. Bluett wrote:

"Sickness so that two, three, or four, or more would die every day; and the churchyard would see from one to two or three daily burials. A Public Fast was observed, and the clergyman

³⁸Perry, *Collections*, V, 48.

³⁹S. P. G. MSS, B, 15, 152.

⁴⁰Perry, *Collections*, V, 51.

⁴¹Gibson, *op. cit.*, 19.

preached to the greatest audience he had ever seen since he came to that place. A rumour that Don Pedro, a famous Havana Privateer, would again infest the coast with many vessels also caused much terror.''⁴²

These recurring epidemics are usually described by eighteenth century writers as "measles followed by pleurisy," but most probably the disease was scarlet fever, for the two diseases were often confused at that time. Bluett also succumbed at this time, and was buried in Dover Churchyard on January 25, 1749.

THE REV. HUGH NEILL

As sometimes happens, the parish which has experienced a poor specimen among the clergy was rewarded, perhaps by Divine Providence, by having one of the best clergymen succeed him. The Rev. Hugh Neill had been a Presbyterian "teacher."'⁴³ In 1749 he went to England with the proper testimonials, was ordained, and licensed for Pennsylvania. His license was dated March 26, 1750.⁴⁴ By November he was in Kent County, for his letter of November 8, 1750, reported that the congregation at Duck Creek was very good.⁴⁵ The next year he reported that there were 1320 taxable families in the county, half of whom were churchmen and half were dissenters. In addition to his two churches and a small chapel there were two Quaker meeting houses, one Independent teacher who attended two other places of worship, one Presbyterian meeting house but no teacher, and one New Light meeting house without a teacher.⁴⁶ There were also five or six families of papists, who were attended about once a month by a priest from Maryland.

Shortly after Hugh Neill arrived, Arthur Ussher went to Ireland to settle his brother's estate. Hugh Neill wrote to the secretary of the S. P. G. on September 1, 1751:

"I have since Mr. Ussher's departure, visited the County of Sussex several times, and find the two congregations in the country to be about regular and numerous, but that in Lewistown appears to be small, I believe by reason of the town going very much to decay."'⁴⁷

⁴²Hotchkin, S. F., *Early Clergy of Pennsylvania and Delaware*, 239.

⁴³Among churchmen this usually meant a clergyman or preacher, but such was the feeling against them that most churchmen would not recognize them as clerks and referred to them as teachers.

⁴⁴*Fulham MSS.* He received the royal bounty of £20 on May 2, 1750. (Fothergill, 47).

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, 96.

⁴⁶See below, Chapter V, for the divisive influence of Whitefield among the Presbyterians.

⁴⁷Turner, *op. cit.*, 194.

In a letter dated September 26, 1756, he wrote that the church in the "Forest of Mushmillion" had been sufficiently completed to hold services in it, and that when he had opened it the congregation had been too large to hold them all. Shortly after this he removed to Oxford (now Frankford in Philadelphia) because of ill health. Some of his activities will be mentioned in other connections.⁴⁸

THE FAITHFUL MINISTRY OF THE REV. CHARLES INGLIS

Almost three years elapsed between the time Hugh Neill left Dover to become missionary at Oxford and the time Charles Inglis became resident in Dover. Inglis was to become one of the most important missionaries to have served in Delaware. Born in Ireland in 1734, he came from a long line of clerical families; and was the son of the Rev. Archibald Inglis, rector of Glencolumbkille, County Donegal.⁴⁹ His father died when he was still a boy and he was educated privately.

At the age of 21 he became catechist at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in the employ of the Society. This seems to have been a regular practice—young men who had finished their classical education, but who were not yet old enough for holy orders, were employed as schoolmasters by the Society. At the same time they often "read for orders" by studying theology with one or more of the neighboring parish priests. During the month of June, 1758, testimonials recommending him for employment by the Society were sent by the Rev. George Craig, itinerant missionary in Pennsylvania; the Rev. Thomas Barton, missionary at Lancaster; and the Rev. William Smith, provost of the College at Philadelphia. Shortly thereafter he was ordained deacon and priest in the chapel of Fulham Palace by Dr. Zachariah Pearce, bishop of Rochester, acting for the bishop of London, Dr. Sherlock.⁵⁰

He arrived in Philadelphia on June 22, 1759, and remained for several days at the home of the Rev. Robert Jenney, rector of Christ Church and commissary for the bishop of London in Pennsylvania. He arrived at Dover on the first of July. Reporting to the annual meeting of the clergy of Pennsylvania nine months later he said:

⁴⁸In 1767 he returned to the neighboring Maryland parish, St. Paul's, Queen Anne County, the income of which was £209.9.7. He remained there until his death after the Revolution. See Chapter V for his activities in Delaware among the Methodists.

⁴⁹Lydekker, John Wolfe, *The Life and Letters of Charles Inglis* (London: S. P. C. K., 1936).

⁵⁰Sunday, December 24, 1758. He received the royal bounty of £20 on January 10, 1759. (Fothergill, 36).

The Mission of Dover includes the whole county of Kent, which extends upwards of 30 miles along the River Delaware. Besides the Church of Dover, which stands near the center of the County, there are two other Churches, one at each end of it, so that a great part of these two Congregations come from the adjoining Counties of New Castle & Sussex.

Kent is bounded on one side by Maryland, on the other by the River Delaware. On the Maryland side there are large Tracts of Forrest Lands thinly settled. The side near Delaware is low & marshy for considerable distance from the River thick settled. Many of the Inhabitants of these Forrests & Marshes are in little better than a state of Heathenism. Hundreds of them have never been baptized nor heard one Sermon & hold no religious communion with any denomination of Christians. I went among the former of these several times last Autumn on week days and preach'd. Once I baptized 25 white children after Sermon. Quakerism has inflicted many; a lukewarmness & indifference about Religion prevails almost universally.

There is, however, some prospect of a reformation, especially among those who live in the better cultivated & more frequented parts, between these Forrests and Marshes. The Church of Dover, which has stood in a ruinous condition for many years, is now handsomely repaired and finished. The Churches are always crowded on Sundays and People are constantly asking for the Society's small Tracts. The number of Communicants encreases. Last Christmas there were but 46 Communicants in all this Mission. Easter there were 73, many of which never communicated before and were heads of Families. It is impossible to ascertain with exactness the number of Inhabitants in a county where no regular Register is kept. The Taxables amount to 1500 and are not more than one-third of the Souls. In this County there are 5 Presbyterian & 2 Quaker Meeting Houses, all supplied with Teachers & exercising the Discipline of their respective plans of Government whilst the Church of England without a Head or any Discipline, has no support under Providence but what is given by the Honorable and worthy Society.

Charles Inglis,
Miss^y at Dover.⁵¹

The principal item on the agenda of this convention was the activities of the Rev. William Macclenachan whose methodistical "enthusiasm" was supported by a minority in Christ Church. The final outcome of this was the formation of St. Paul's Church, Philadelphia. Others in attendance at this meeting were Philip Reading, of Appoquinimy; Hugh Neill, now of Oxford, but formerly of Dover; and Thomas Barton, of Lancaster, under whom Inglis had studied.

⁵¹Perry, *Collections*, II, 312-3.

Elections in those days were boisterous affairs, and Inglis tried to overcome some of the worst features of political meetings. He wrote:

"The People in general are very loose. The party Spirit that rages among them contributes not a little to this; each Party, in order to ingratiate themselves with the Populace, inviting them to public Meetings, which are nothing but scenes of Drunkenness and Debauchery. I must, however, do them Justice in mentioning a becoming Zeal which they discovered in repairing the Church at Dover, which lay in a most shocking condition when I came here; but it is now finished, and ornamented with a Bell, Pulpit Cloth, etc. &c. the Donations of particular Gentlemen . . ."⁵²

When the elections came about again, he determined to improve conditions, and, hearing of a date having been set for a political rally, he announced that he would preach near that place on the same day:

"This at first drew the more serious Part of my own Hearers from them, as well as those of the other Denominations, whose example was soon followed by great Numbers. I also prevailed with the most considerable of the Candidates not to go to them, and those of less Note followed their Example. Thus by persuading the Candidates not to go to them, preaching near the places where they were held, and setting them in that horrid Light they deserved, these Riots are dwindled almost to Nothing."

One immediately wonders if the personal efforts of the clergy today have sufficient influence to break up a political rally.

Charles Inglis was indefatigable, not only at Dover, but throughout his whole life in trying to arouse interest in an American episcopate. From Dover he wrote:

". . . while every other denomination is guarded by some plan of discipline, we alone are left without that necessary assistance, without a Head to guide us with Counsel, Authority to correct abuses, or a jurisdiction to ascertain the just privileges of our Ministry and Congregations . . ."⁵³

Like many another parson of his day, Inglis increased his income by tutoring. A manuscript of the time tells of the improvement of a small boy, whom he has been tutoring in arithmetic, and whom he believed was sufficiently advanced in addition and subtraction to go on to division.⁵⁴

⁵²*S. P. G. MSS*, B, 21, #140, September 26, 1760.

⁵³Perry, *Collections*, II, 299-300.

⁵⁴*Shippens Papers MSS*, III, 141. (Historical Society of Pennsylvania.)

By the fall of 1761 his congregation in both Duck Creek and Mushmillion had so increased that it was necessary to enlarge the buildings. The latter was increased one-third, but in the former it was decided to replace the old wooden church with a brick one. The next year he wrote:

“ . . . a new Brick Church at Duck Creek which I have called St. Peter's, & was begun then [i. e. in 1761], is carried up Side Wall high, but cannot have the roof put on it, by Reason of some Accidents that could neither be seen nor prevented, before next Spring. This Church when finished will be the largest, most commodious & decent Church in the whole Mission.”⁵⁵

Two years later the congregation at Duck Creek wrote to the Venerable Society and pointed out that they had built this brick church at a cost of £500, that their glebe rented for £6, and they requested half of Inglis' time at their church.⁵⁶ Inglis agreed to this plan, and Hugh Wilson was sent to England in 1765 for ordination, with the idea that he should be appointed to the churches at Mispillion and Cedar Creek.

Early in 1762 Inglis began weekday services once a month at “a church in Maryland,” which he called St. Paul's, and which was about eighteen miles from Dover.

He was also quite exercised at the lack of military support given to the settlers in western Pennsylvania during 1763, and tried to alleviate the sufferings of the settlers driven from their homes by Indian raids. On August 14th he preached a charity sermon on their hardships, and although he was under the influence of a recurring attack of malaria, he collected £16, 6s. for their relief.⁵⁷ Considering that the three churches were contributing but £70 per annum toward his support, this was no mean sum collected for charity.

From the letters extant one is apt to receive the impression that the clergy were interested in nothing but numbers of people and money. This is natural, for the letters we have are generally official ones to their employers. One letter written by Inglis gives an indication of his pastoral and theological interests. Writing to Mrs. Mary Hopkinson of Philadelphia on October 14, 1765, he discussed Hartley's book on the millenium. It is a beautiful example of eighteenth century penmanship in a clear, though cramped hand. After going into intricate detail in computing a series of figures derived from the Revela-

⁵⁵S. P. G. MSS, B, 21, #144.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, B, 21, #138.

⁵⁷*Peters Papers MSS*, VI, 16, 17. (Historical Society of Pennsylvania).

tion of St. John the Divine, he suggests that Mrs. Hopkinson continue to practice her faith, not distressing herself unnecessarily about the Lord's Second Coming and ends by saying:

" . . . may the Grace of God confirm you in this & every other Sacred Truth of the Gospel. May you, vitally united to the adored Redeemer here & finally be one of that blessed & holy number, who have Part in the first Resurrection, and shall reign with Christ . . ."⁵⁸

In February, 1764, he married Mary, the daughter of Benjamin and Mary Vining, of Salem County, New Jersey, and sister of the Hon. John Vining, chief justice of Delaware. In August of the same year he wrote to the Society for permission to move, because the place did not agree with his wife's health. He was then offered a temporary position at Trinity Church, New York, because of the ill health of the rector, Dr. Henry Barclay. Before he could arrive in New York to discuss the matter, Dr. Barclay died, and Dr. Samuel Auchmuty, the senior curate, was elected rector. Inglis was then offered the senior curacy. Within a few days of his return to Dover, his wife died and their infant daughter followed her to the same grave in Dover churchyard.

The thought of his departure threw the Duck Creek congregation into despair. They doubted that they would ever finish their church if he left them. Inglis was so distressed at their attitude that he wrote to Dr. Auchmuty declining the appointment to Trinity Church. At this juncture a happy solution seemed to appear. Hugh Wilson, a native of Kent County and nephew of Hugh Neill, after having been educated by Neill and having read for orders under the Rev. Thomas Barton at Lancaster, had gone to England for ordination. It was suggested that Dover mission be divided and Wilson be given the lower half. Samuel Giles, who had gone over with Wilson and who was ordained at the same time, was assigned to the upper half of the mission. The congregations agreed to this plan and Inglis left his parish and the employ of the Society early in December, 1765.⁵⁹

The best laid schemes did "gang-a-gley" in this case. Wilson and Giles were ordained on December 23, 1765, and licensed for Pennsylvania.⁶⁰ Returning together, their ship reached the Delaware Capes, but in a sudden storm which arose they were drowned there on April 5, 1766.

⁵⁸*Redwood Collection MSS*, 3. (Historical Society of Pennsylvania.)

⁵⁹*S. P. G. MSS*, B, 21, 137. Later he became rector of Trinity Church (1777-1783), and still later bishop of Nova Scotia (1787-1816).

⁶⁰Both received the royal bounty of £20 on January 2, 1766. (Fothergill, 30, 64.)

Such were the hardships of trying to carry on the Church's work without a bishop in America. The Anglican clergy in America estimated that one out of every five candidates for the ministry, who went to England for ordination, died of disease or shipwreck. Born and educated in this land, giving themselves for the Lord's work among their own people, they had gone to England for ordination. After expending the funds and time to fulfill this necessary preliminary to their work to arrive at the threshold and there meet their death was indeed stark tragedy. One is forced to wonder what might have happened had this plan come to fruition, but as it was, the Kent County Mission was prevented from being divided until the time of the Revolution.

While Inglis found but 45 communicants in his three churches distributed as follows: Dover, 25; Duck Creek, 12; Mushmillion, 8; he left after six years of ministry with 46 communicants at Dover, 40 at Duck Creek, and 28 at Mushmillion. In that period he baptized 756 children and 23 adults. The new church at Duck Creek was opened during his last September. This is quite a record of faithful service.

In 1725 the Dover Church had been called St. John's Parish. On December 19, 1765, Inglis mentions Christ Church for the first time, and in 1767 Benjamin Wynkoop of Philadelphia gave a Bible to "Christ Church in Kent County on Delaware." Benjamin Wynkoop's sister was Mrs. John Vining, the wife of Inglis' brother-in-law. This probably explains why Benjamin Wynkoop of St. Peter's Church, Philadelphia, would be interested sufficiently to make this handsome gift to Christ Church, Dover. It has been conjectured that the similarity between the United Parish of Christ Church and St. Peter's, Philadelphia, might have had some influence in naming Christ Church and St. Peter's in Kent County. So far as I know, there is no documentary evidence for such a conjecture, interesting as it may be. Inglis seems to have had difficulty in making up his mind about the name, for in 1769 he called the Dover Church, St. Mary's.

THE REV. SAMUEL MAGAW

For a short time after Inglis' departure, Philip Reading supplied the Kent Mission. Early in 1767 the Rev. Samuel Magaw was appointed to the vacancy. Born in Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, in 1735, he was the son of David Magaw of Hopewell, near Newburg, who was one of the commissioners appointed to lay out Cumberland

County.⁶¹ One of the first notices we have of him is found in the account of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge among the Germans of Pennsylvania, a scheme of Dr. William Smith, provost of the College. At a meeting held at the house of William Allen at Mt. Airy,⁶² on August 10, 1754, Dr. Smith

“informed the trustees that he had conversed with a young man named Magaw, born in this colony, who came well recommended and who could be well qualified in six or eight months at the Academy to take charge of a school, and that he had prevailed upon the Rev. Mr. Brunholtz,⁶³ a member of the Lutheran congregation in this city, to board Mr. Magaw in his house, to watch over his morals, and assist him in making further progress in the German language, provided the trustees would admit him to the proprietaries’ bounty. Agreed.”⁶⁴

By 1759 a group in Lancaster were following the example of Franklin’s Junto in founding a library company. The Rev. Thomas Barton was among those listed as organizers, and Samuel Magaw was elected librarian.⁶⁵ He taught school in Lancaster for at least four years.⁶⁶ Together with John Andrews, who was also teaching there, he read for orders under Barton. Both Magaw and Andrews were in the first graduating class from the College of Philadelphia.⁶⁷ The Dover Church was willing to recommend either of the young men for that mission. On September 8, 1766, John Vining wrote to Caesar Rodney:

“I think you ought to send immediately to Mr. McGaw & press him to go to England in the first ship that sails if his resolution continues of settling amongst us. I am authorized to say that his appointment will be as certain if he will accept as that 2 & 2 make four if he lives. If he has declin’d his intentions then give Mr. Andrews an invitation. All this may be done in a few days. Messrs. Peters & Duche only wait to hear from Mr. McGaw when they will write by Capt. Sparks who will sail in 2 weeks.”⁶⁸

Having received Magaw’s acceptance, the churchwardens and members of the Dover congregation wrote on November 6, 1766, recom-

⁶¹*Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 42, p. 228.

⁶²Allentown was named for William Allen. His property is now in the hands of the Lutheran Theological Seminary.

⁶³Pastor of the Lutheran Church in Philadelphia.

⁶⁴Perry, *Collections*, II.

⁶⁵*Penna. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, vol. 43, p. 28.

⁶⁶*Ibid.*, 42, 228; Smith, *Life of William Smith*, I, 93.

⁶⁷*Penna. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, Vol. 24, p. 40.

⁶⁸Ryden, G. H., (ed.) *Letters to and from Caesar Rodney, 1756-1784* (Hist. Soc. of Del., 1933) 27-8.

mending him to the Society and asking that Duck Creek be made a separate mission station.⁶⁹ Magaw arrived in Philadelphia in September, 1767, and officiated in Dover, Duck Creek and Mushmillion⁷⁰. He was licensed for Pennsylvania by the bishop of London on February 19, 1767.⁷¹ Within two years after his arrival in Dover he had baptized six adults and 198 children, including five Negroes. Little wonder then if he should request a division of his parish by the separation of Dover and Duck Creek.⁷²

He was one of the original members of the Corporation for the Relief of Widows and Children of Clergymen, which was organized on October 10, 1767. One of the daughters of John Vining became his bride, but died within eighteen months.⁷³ Before December 25, 1775, he married again, this time to Lucia Doz of Philadelphia. Her father, Andrew, later made substantial bequests to a number of Church institutions around Philadelphia. It may have been as a result of this marriage that he was able to buy a farm in Kent County in 1775.

MAGAW AND THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

Matters went along peaceably until 1776 when he wrote that the clergy were "obliged to walk in this critical juncture with peculiar Caution and Circumspection . . . people ardently wishing for peace, they looked for reconciliation, safe, constitutional and permanent."⁷⁴ Dr. William Smith as early as July 10th, 1775, wrote: "Their difficulties in their Missions are greatly increased by the present alarming state of things & never were men in more trying or delicate situation . . ."⁷⁵

When Bishop Lee delivered his two charges, *Planting and Watering* and *Our Centenary*, he stated that the Dover Church was closed during the Revolution. This statement has been repeated a number of times and all secondary writers making this statement acknowledge the bishop as their ultimate source. Dr. Pascoe gives Magaw's dates at Dover as 1767-77.⁷⁶ All contemporary evidence points to another conclusion. It appears from the material now at hand that Magaw kept his church open throughout most of the troubles, if not through all of them. The S. P. G. paid the salaries of the loyalists until 1783.

⁶⁹S. P. G. MSS, B, 21, #149.

⁷⁰*Ibid.*, B, 21, #151.

⁷¹Perry, *Collections*, II, 475.

⁷²S. P. G. MSS, B, 21, #152b.

⁷³*Ibid.*, #156.

⁷⁴Gibson, *Church at Dover*, 43-4.

⁷⁵Perry, *Collections*, II, 475.

⁷⁶*Op. cit.*, 852.

The patriots were dismissed. This is probably the reason the S. P. G. records give his dates as 1777.

As will be seen in the discussion of the Methodist movement in Delaware, Francis Asbury in his *Journal* has ample evidence to show that Magaw was active throughout the whole period. Two items will suffice here. On April 2, 1779, Asbury recorded:

"I had an interview with the Rev. Mr. McGaw, a kind, sensible, friendly minister of the Episcopal Church . . ."

Again on April 16 of the same year he recorded:

"I visited the Rev. Mr. McGaw . . . he treated me with exceeding great kindness, and I spent some time agreeably in his company . . ."

Both these occasions were during Asbury's sojourn at Judge White's in Kent County. Lest some say that he was not officiating, Asbury recorded that he received the sacrament a number of times from Magaw.⁷⁷

There is no evidence to show that his lack of patriotism prevented him from officiating during the war. His brother, Robert, was a colonel in command of Fort Washington when it was captured by the British on November 16, 1776, and his physician-brother, William, was surgeon to Col. Thompson's battalion of riflemen.⁷⁸ That he was held in some regard by the Rodneys may be seen from the fact that Caesar Augustus' son, Thomas, spent several years as a student under Magaw after he became rector of St. Paul's Church, Philadelphia. On August 24, 1779, Eleazer McComb, a member of the privy council, wrote to Caesar Rodney. The letter shows a friendly relationship with Magaw.⁷⁹ On October 9, 1780, Caesar Rodney wrote to Thomas Rodney from Dover:

My natural enemy, the Asthma, has continued so close a seige ever since I left Wilmington & has acted so powerfully as to reduce me very low. However, from present appearances, I am led to believe you will see me at Wilmington on Monday next, at farthest & that to dinner. Mr. Magaw rides with me & preaches at Appoquinimin next Sunday on his way there.⁸⁰

Would anyone, who would ride to St. Anne's and hold a service in a church which was closed to the tory missionary who had been its

⁷⁷See Chapter V, below.

⁷⁸*Penna. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, 24, 40.

⁷⁹Ryden, *op. cit.*, 314.

⁸⁰*Ibid.*, 387.

pastor, leave his own charge entirely neglected? It is much more reasonable to assume that Magaw supplied the Dover Church and its missions until he became rector of St. Paul's Church in 1781. From this date until 1786 there were no regular pastors at Dover. The vestry passed a resolution with regard to "those traveling ministers who may desire admittance into this church to preach or teach". It is evident that the schism of the Methodists from the Church, which Asbury had tried so hard to prevent, had its effect upon the Dover vestry, for soon

"Mr. Ridgely was requested to inquire when he attends the convention in Philadelphia, for a clergyman of Piety, Religion, Morality and sound principles, who hath been regularly ordained and can show Testimonials of his being a strict member of the Protestant Episcopal Church."

THE REV. SAMUEL ROE AND THE METHODISTS

Francis Asbury recorded in his *Journal* on November 12, 1780, that "Samuel Roe is going to Sussex—one that has happily escaped the separating spirit and party in Virginia, and snares laid for his feet . . ." This separating spirit, of which Asbury wrote, was the attitude among some of the Methodists, especially in Virginia, which would admit the validity of the sacraments administered by Methodist preachers who had not had episcopal ordination. Asbury tried to keep the Methodist movement within the Church, as he had been instructed to do by John Wesley. In this instance he rejoiced that Samuel Roe was content to conform to his wishes.

Dr. Thomas Coke arrived from England in the fall of 1784, and the separation was strengthened by his influence, but Samuel Roe did not join the schismatics. The wardens and vestry of St. Mary's Church, Burlington, New Jersey, accepted him as their lay reader:

"Samuel Roe was Licensed to officiate as a reader in the Episcopal Church, by the Rev'd Clergy of New York, October 7th, 1784, and was received by the Wardens, Vestry and congregation of the Church of St. Mary's in the City of Burlington, October 18th, to be their Reader."⁸¹

At the third ordination of Bishop Seabury on September 16th and 18th, 1785, in New Haven, Samuel Roe was ordained deacon and priest.⁸² Bishop Seabury's *Registry* states:

⁸¹Hills, G. M., *op. cit.*, 323.

⁸²*Ibid.*

“Samuel Roe of Burlington, New Jersey; both recommended by The Rev’d Dr. White, Dr. Magaw, and Mr. Blackwell of Philadelphia; and Mr. B. Moore of N. York.”⁸³

He became rector of St. Mary’s on October 18, 1784, and was called to Delaware in 1786. The people of Burlington raised a subscription of £350, and he agreed to remain in Burlington, but “a difficulty having arisen between Mr. Roe and his people, the connection between them was dissolved.”⁸⁴ The Dover parish records for this period were burned, so we know nothing of his activities except his tombstone in Dover Churchyard which reads:

In Memory of
the Revd. SAMUEL ROE
who departed this life February 8th 1791
in the 35th Year of his Age.
He was a faithful Pastor, a fond Husband
and an indulgent Parent.

THE REV. SYDENHAM THORNE AND THE MISPELLION MISSION

As early as the days of the Rev. Hugh Neill, it had been suggested that the southern portion of the Kent Mission should be divided from Dover and Duck Creek, but a variety of difficulties prevented this from taking place. On December 24, 1774, the Rev. Sydenham Thorne arrived at Mispillion⁸⁵ with a license to officiate in Pennsylvania, dated Fulham, August 24, 1774⁸⁶. It appears that he was ordained in September, for on the twelfth of that month he received his £20 traveling expenses.⁸⁷ The Society had received a petition from the people of Mispillion and St. Paul’s, Kent County, asking that their churches might become a separate mission, but had received no word from Magaw or from the Pennsylvania clergy. Nevertheless they deducted £10 from Magaw’s stipend and transferred this to Thorne.⁸⁸ The Society was so short of funds that no larger payments could be promised.⁸⁹ Seventy pounds, Pennsylvania currency, were raised by pew rents, and the congregations agreed to buy a glebe.⁹⁰

⁸³“A Registry of Ordinations” in *Historical Magazine of the Episcopal Church*, XIII, (March 1944), 49.

⁸⁴Hills, G. M., *op. cit.*, 325.

⁸⁵S. P. G. MSS, B, 21, #157.

⁸⁶*Collections of the Protestant Episcopal Historical Society*, 1851, 117.

⁸⁷Fothergill, *op. cit.*, 59.

⁸⁸*Minutes of the S. P. G.*, May 17, 1775.

⁸⁹S. P. G. MSS, B, 21, #157.

⁹⁰*Ibid.*

It was through Thorne's encouragement that Joseph Oliver laid out the present town of Milford, and the site of the Milford church was given at that time.⁹¹ Mispillion church was out of town to the westward some little distance. Nothing remains of it now. Thorne also entered into partnership with Oliver, and built the first Tumbling Run dam upon which a mill was built.

He continued to hold services until 1777, when he was proscribed from praying for the royal family. Then he provided a reader for the churches which could keep the churches open by omitting the state prayers. Thorne officiated at funerals and other functions when the liturgy did not require state prayers. Asbury approved of his preaching, and he seems to have met the Methodists at least half-way.⁹² In 1782 he began the building of the church at St. Johnstown, about twelve miles west of Milford.

Although he does not appear to have been a member of the Corporation for the Relief of Widows and Children, he was active in the beginnings of the reorganization of the Church in America.⁹³ Judge Conrad called him one of the most active and influential men in Kent County.⁹⁴ His influence can be measured by the fact that "Parson Thorne" Toby Jugs are still found occasionally in Kent and Sussex Counties. His house is on a knoll to the west of Milford and is one of the most pretentious colonial houses in the lower part of the state. Built of brick with a full two story central section flanked by one story wings, it presents quite an appearance even today after having been "modernized" in the nineteenth century and used as a tenant house in more recent times.

Parson Thorne, as he is still known in Kent and Sussex, officiated in Dover after the removal of Magaw, and requested that he might be sent to New Castle after the death of Aeneas Ross.⁹⁵ He died on February 13, 1793, at the age of forty-five, and was buried at the west end of his house. His tombstone is still in good condition.

⁹¹Conrad, *op. cit.*, 675. Begun in 1791, the church was not finished until 1835.

⁹²Asbury's *Journal* for December 10, 1781 ff.

⁹³See chapter on Revolution and Independence, IX, below.

⁹⁴Conrad, *op. cit.*, 618.

⁹⁵Turner, *op. cit.*, 241.

CHAPTER IV

THE SUSSEX MISSION

THE first known record of services in Sussex is that the Rev. Thomas Crawford, from Dover, preached at Captain Hill's house in the early part of 1706, and reported that he found "a people mighty civil, and a great many well inclined to the church."¹ In the minutes of the Venerable Society for April 18, 1707, the bishop of London states that the inhabitants of Sussex wrote to him on March 6, 1705-6, asking for a minister and promising to do what they could to support him.² This request was repeated: in the minutes of 14 February, 1707, there is a letter from the inhabitants of Sussex on Delaware River desiring a minister, and a letter from Crawford advising that these people were building a church and wanted a minister, and that he agreed to lay the matter before the Society.³

THE REV. WILLIAM BLACK

On July 19, 1706, William Black, who was finally appointed to the Sussex Mission, first appeared in the records of the Venerable Society.⁴ The minutes read:

"The Secretary also reported from ye Committee that one Mr. William Black a Layman recommended by the Lord Bishop of London had attended them and likewise offered his service for the Mission, and that he had produced a Letter from the Lord Bishop of Carlile to the Lord Bishop of London, together with a certificate under the hand and seal of the late Bishop of Edinburgh, & another under the hands of the Lords of the College of Glasgow and ye common Seal of the said College & all giving a

¹Hotchkin, S. F., *Early Clergy of Pennsylvania and Delaware* (P. W. Zeigler & Co., Philadelphia 1890) p. 235. Dr. C. H. B. Turner in his *Some Records of Sussex County, Delaware* states that the Church of England people of Lewes applied to Governor Sir Edmond Andros of New York in June, 1681, for a deed to the land in Lewes which they had fenced in and were using for a graveyard. The statement is given without references and I have been unable to substantiate the claim. Inasmuch as some inaccuracies are to be found in Dr. Turner's work, the question cannot be accepted at its value without much corroboration. This is not to say that the statement is untrue, but merely that I have been unable to find Dr. Turner's source. When we recall that Governor Andros was recalled in 1680, the question becomes even more doubtful.

²S. P. G. *Minutes*. Transcript in the Archives Building, Dover, Delaware, for this date.

³*Ibid.*

⁴Dr. Pascoe in his *Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G.* (p. 851) says he was born in Dumfries about 1679.

very good character of the said Mr. Black, but the committee had not yet come to any resolution about ye said Person because he had not procured Testimonials according to Form.''⁵

On August 16, 1706, the "Secretary acquainted the Board that Mr. Black attended at the door.—Ordered that the Secretary do wait on the Lord A. Bishop & inform him that the Society does desire his Grace to direct what he thinks fit, in the case of the said Mr. Black.'"⁶ On September 20th the archbishop gave Black two guineas for support and approved his being sent to Boston, but by October 18th the bishop of London reported that Sir Charles Hobby and other New England gentlemen objected that Black was too young, and it was agreed to send him to Narragansett in Rhode Island. By the middle of November he had succeeded in getting his papers in order according to the prescribed form; he read prayers and preached and was appointed to Narragansett for three years at £50 per annum.⁷ He was allowed the usual allowance of £10 and £5 for books.

Difficulties of travel or other reasons seem to have prevented him from leaving England, for when the people of Lewes asked for a missionary in March of 1707, Black was appointed at the April meeting of the Venerable Society on the ground that Narragansett was already supplied.⁸

Black and Thomas Jenkins, who had been appointed to Appoquinimink, were at Spithead on August 30th in order to sail on the *Ruby* for Portugal. Because of the failure of the ship to sail on time, they were "greatly reduced for want of money." The Society ordered them to take another ship or return to London, and allowed them £15 out of their next stipend. On January 6, 1708, he was still windbound and £10 were advanced.⁹ Black, Jenkins, and John Talbot, missionary at Burlington, New Jersey, finally sailed from Spithead on the 23rd of June, 1707, on the *Reserve*, Captain Hamilton, and arrived in Lisbon on September 4th.¹⁰ Here they embarked on another ship, for a letter to the Society tells of their arrival in Virginia aboard the *Burlington* prior to June 10, 1708, after having lost their clothes and books on the *Oxford*, which was blown from its anchorage at the Madeiras and was reported overdue.¹¹ Black and Jenkins re-

⁵Turner, *op. cit.*, 169-171. These records are also to be found in the Library of Congress Transcripts of the S. P. G. Minutes under these dates.

⁶*Ibid.*

⁷*Ibid.*

⁸He had received his traveling expenses September 5, 1706, and was listed as appointed to "one of the Jerseys" (Fothergill, *op. cit.*, p. 14).

⁹*Minutes* of the Society under this date.

¹⁰Letter of John Talbot to the Society. S. P. G., A Series, III, #LXI, #CXI.

¹¹S. P. G., A Series, I, #123.

ported to the governor at New Castle on July 19, 1708, and then proceeded to their charges.

In June of 1709 French privateers landed and plundered the town of Lewes, and Black fled, never to return. His letter to the Society gives a despairing view of the situation:

“Annapolis, June 7, 1709

Honor'd Sir—I rec'd a Letter from you with an account of some of the Transactions of the Society, to which long ago I wrote an answer, since which (May 7th) the French have been among us and have Pillaged the Town, and ruin'd the people; and I with great difficulty escaped; I was fain for my security to fly about 30 miles upon Sunday the 8th May. The Country in all places where 'tis inhabited lies open to the Sea so that there is no safety there. The Captain of the privateer is one Monsr. Le Coix, the number of Men is 120, with 4 Guns, and we are threatened by another Ship of the same force with a Man of War from old France. The people have not contributed one farthing for my maintenance since I came; I've reced nothing from them, & those who subscribed are mostly ruin'd, so that I cannot expect they shou'd give me anything, since they were unwilling to subscribe when they were of Ability. I drew upon my Attorney my Salary for this year, before this incident happen'd, and indeed the £50 allowed me amounts to about £30 here, since ev'rything we buy is sold at the rate of 4 or 500 p. cent. I have been here now one year and am forced with the permission of my Lord of London to settle myself in our neighbouring Province of Maryland. I had my recourse to his Excellency the Governor of the Province who received me as he does all clergymen, with great civility and has promised to provide for me, till such time as my Lord of London sends me to Lycence, at which time I am to be Legally establish'd, and since I cannot help my leaving Sussex, I hope that the Honble Society will not withdraw their Bounty but continue it, as I shall serve God & the Church according to my ability, where God in his providence shall cast my Lott. Mr. Crawford & Jenkins live on the same River but are far removed from Danger, but we lying at the very Capes become a prey to every Enemy that comes that way. The Quakers who are very numerous will neither resist themselves nor contribute to the maintenance of those that willingly wou'd. Wishing to yourself and all my very good Benefactors health and happiness here & hereafter, I am

Your & their faithful Missionary
& humble Servt.

William Black.'¹²

John Talbot, missionary at Burlington, had a fit of melancholia on the 27th of September when he wrote concerning this and other vacancies:

¹²Turner, *op. cit.*, pp. 175-7.

" . . . at the whorekills [Lewes, *alias* Hoarkills] none, and the people in all these places so abaited of their zeal, that I'm sure it had been much better to have sent none at all, than none to supply the death and absence of these men. Here is not one come to supply the death and absence of these men . . . and if there does come any what will they do but find great discouragements, and last state of their places is worse than the first; . . ."¹³

Perhaps Talbot was right, but one wonders if Black would have been a great help to the Sussex Mission even if he had been brave enough to withstand the privateers.¹⁴

In retrospect we are liable to blame Black for not remaining at his post of duty. We are apt to project our ideas of present day Lewes back into the Lewistown of 1709, but the danger was a very real one. A letter of Isaac Norris, dated 7 day, 3rd Mo., 1709, reads in part:

"Last Seventh-day morning early landed about 60 French from a ship of about 160 men, at Lewes, alias Hoarkills, and plundered the town to the most trifling articles; took four men, viz., Jon. Bayley, Samuel Rowland, one Bedwell, and another, for ransom, and, 'tis said, have ransomed for Indian corn and sheep. William Clark was also kept on board. This alarms us, [even in Philadelphia] and some people will have it that they will come up here. . ."¹⁵

Twelve years elapsed before another priest settled in Sussex, but it must not be thought that no religious services were held during that time. George Ross, missionary at New Castle, informed the Venerable Society that he had accompanied the governor to Lewes and preached in the court house there (no church having as yet been built) on August 7, 1717.¹⁶ He also preached at two other places, presum-

¹³Hills, *op. cit.* p. 93.

¹⁴Black did not go to Maryland, but was inducted into Accomack Parish in Virginia. Despite his plea of the failure of the Sussex people to pay him, he had sufficient means to buy 400 acres of Land at a cost of 20,000 pounds of tobacco in September of 1711. (*Accomack County Deeds, Wills & Orders*, 1692-1715, Part 3, p. 35). He first married Sarah Scarborough whose family held considerable land. This is shown in a series of wills of that county. But when his will was proved in March of 1737-8, his wife's name is given as Margaret. In some records she is mentioned as Bridget. Between 1730 and 1734 he was in difficulties with the law several times, as may be seen from the *Accomack Order Book 1724-31*. On November 3, 1730, he was cited by the grand jury for getting drunk on the Sabbath. On May 4, 1731, he was fined for swearing. On September 9, 1731, he and Margaret were fined fifty shillings for assault on Margaret Whale. On July 2, 1734 he was forced to put up a bond of twenty pounds to insure his good conduct, but the next day the bond was discharged upon his payment of the court costs. On November 5, 1734, there was a grand jury presentment against him for failure to preach on that day. (*Order Book, 1731-36*, pp. 4, 128, 138).

¹⁵*MS* in Pennsylvania Historical Society.

¹⁶Humphreys, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

ably St. Matthew's, Cedar Creek. Of the second place I am not so sure. Scharf thinks it was Prince George's, Dagsboro, but the fact that this parish was in Maryland at the time rather casts some doubt on this. Ross merely said that it was a small frame building sixteen miles from Lewes. During the week he spent in Sussex he baptised 102 children and adults. The next April he went back to Lewes where he says he opened a new church. The minutes of the Society for February 15, 1722, record that two churches were built and men were appointed to read prayers.¹⁷ William Becket also recorded that the Rev. Mr. Adams came over ninety miles from Maryland more than once to hold services in Lewes and the other churches.¹⁸

THE FRUITFUL MINISTRY OF WILLIAM BECKET

It is to the Rev. William Becket, A. M. that the Sussex Mission owes its permanence, for he came to Lewes on September 1, 1721, and remained until his death in 1743. William Becket was the son of John and Mary Becket, and was born at Over Peover in Cheshire, England, April 25, 1697.¹⁹ He left London on June 11, 1721, and arrived at Lewes with the usual grant for books and an annual salary of £60. Three years later he could report that his work was so successful that his three churches²⁰ had subscribed sufficient sums for the support of the minister and his family, and that he could lay aside the Society's allowance.²¹

By 1725 he asked permission to remove to Chester in the place of the Rev. John Humphries,²² who had gone to Annapolis. This permission was not granted, but it did not deter him from the work he had set out to do, for he said in 1726 that St. John the Baptist church had been built "in the Forest."

At this time the heirs of Penn and Lord Baltimore were disputing about the ownership of Delaware, and Becket made one of the most ingenious suggestions as to the settlement of the dispute. Since many

¹⁷*Minutes of the S. P. G.*

¹⁸Becket, William, *Notices and Letters*, MSS.

¹⁹Except where otherwise noted all the references to Becket may be found in his manuscript *Journal* in the Pennsylvania Historical Society. His appointment probably came as a result of a petition of Lewistowners, 1718, in which they state that many Church people were going to a recently built Presbyterian meeting house served by ministers under the jurisdiction of the synod of Glasgow. *Vide*: Perry, *op. cit.*, II, 116.

²⁰Lewes, Indian River, and St. Matthew's, Cedar Creek.

²¹*Collections of the P. E. Church* (1851) p. 123. Quoting the *Fulham MSS.*

²²John Humphrey or Humphries (c. 1684-July 8, 1739) was a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, was a schoolmaster in New York, 1706-1710, and was ordained by the bishop of London about 1710. He served as S. P. G. missionary in Oxford, Pa., 1711-1713, and Chester, Pa., 1714-1726. (Pascoe, *op. cit.*, p. 852).

people were of the opinion that the land belonged to neither of the contesting parties but to the king, he suggested that the king give the land in question to the Venerable Society as an endowment for the establishment of the episcopate, even if only a suffragan to the bishop of London. Needless to say, the suggestion came to nothing, but it shows how Becket's mind was working. To him Episcopacy without the episcopate was indeed a very emasculated form of churchmanship.

In October of 1728 he described the churches comprising his parish:

"The dimensions of the Church at Lewes is as follows, viz. 40 feet in length 24 broad, the height of the wall between the plate and the sill is 15 feet. The frame is of Wood the Roof is covered with Cypress Shingles and the wall with Boards of the same wood. The inside of the Church is not yet finished, only the floor is laid, and the walls wainscotted with Cypress plank as high as the tops of the pews. the Pulpit, reading desk, Communion Table and Rail are handsomely built of black Walnut—and the pews are all made of pine plank. . . . The number of people frequenting this church I reckon at a mean computation of about 150.

St. John Baptists church was raised on Wednesday the 27th of March 1728. The frame is of white Oak, the dimensions are as follows, viz. 30 feet long 20 broad & 12 feet between the plate and sill. It stands about the Center of the county in the forest of Sussex and is inscribed to St. John the Baptist.

The covering of the wall is to be of Cypress board and the roof of shingles of the same wood which is most used here for like purposes as the rain will not cause it to Rot. The work is being carry'd on by voluntary contribution of the inhabitants as it has already been raised on that foundation. . . .²³

St. George's Chapel in Indian River hundred, 9 miles distant from Lewes was raised in December 1719. The frame of Oak—the length of it was 25 feet the breadth 20 and the height 12 feet. The walls and roof were covered with red oak boards and thus remained till the year 1725 when a new addition of 15 feet was made to it; the older part of this building has a pulpit, gallery and floor, the new part is not yet floor'd, but we have agreed with a workman this year to cover the whole roof with cypress shingles and to lay the floor of the new part, the congregation frequenting this chapel consist usually of about 200 people.

This building was rais'd as all the churches in this Government are by voluntary contribution. The sum contributed towards carrying on the work at first was £34 15s. 8d. and the repairing and enlarging it since, has cost about as much more.

²³The construction of this church and the care it had had, may be judged from the fact that 46 years later, 1774, the Rev. Samuel Lyon calls it "an old ruinous church."

The Contributors were about 66 in number to raise the first sum. The people here are constant attenders on the public service and annually contribute something of their small substance towards the carrying on the building of their yet unfinished chappel & the maintenance of their minister.

St. Matthew's Church Cedar Creek was raised in the year 1707 being the first building that was erected for the service of God and Religion in this Country according to the Rites and Usages of the Church of England. It was a timber building, the wall covered with boards of Cypress, and the roof with cypress shingles, the floor has been laid, the pulpit, desk, Communion Table and some pews, were built about 4 years ago but the inside of the church is not yet finished.

The dimensions are as follows, Thirty feet long 20 wide 12 between joysts viz. between plate and sill. The reason why the building was left unfinished was, because of the difficulty they had in getting a missionary, who had contributed toward the building of it. But why they have not gone on with the building since their church was supplied, is not so clear. The work was begun and has been carried on by contribution, but as the subscription has for as much as I can learn been lost, so I cannot get any account of the Contributors names or of the sums they gave.

The congregation here is numerous being generally on Sundays when the weather is good to travel about 200 persons the church not being large enough to contain many more than one half the number, though a small gallery²⁴ has been raised across one end of the church. I am in hopes however to persuade them shortly to enlarge it. The first Missionary here was the Rev. Wm. Black, now of Accomack County in Virginia, who staid near two years, after his departure the people had no minister settled among them for about 12 years, untill the year 1721 when the present Missionary arrived here . . ."

The missionaries in Delaware were all under the supervision of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and while this required no more than quarterly reports to the Society concerning their activities and semi-annual meetings of the clergy, this was more supervision than many of them were able to bear gracefully. The additional stipends of the Maryland and Virginia establishments were enticing, and Becket was no exception. In 1732 he made an attempt to be nominated for a Maryland parish.²⁵ This venture failed, but had beneficial results. The parish subscribed to buy him a farm along Indian River

²⁴It may be well to note that these galleries are today commonly called "slave galleries." This is a misnomer. The term is not used in a single contemporary document. The galleries were simply to hold the large crowds which attended these small churches.

²⁵He also asked and received permission for a three months' visit to England, but did not take advantage of the permission. See Perry, V, 59.

Bay in Indian River Hundred. Writing to the S. P. G. on April 15, 1732, for the assistance of the Society in the purchase of the farm he said:

" . . . That the Parishioners of yor Sd Petitioner have been exceedingly kind to him during the whole time, by subscribing liberally towards his Support & maintenance (considering their poor circumstances) & by many other kind and good Offices, which has been a great encouragement to your Petitioner in the midst of his Labour. That besides what is already mencioned they have at this Time done an extraordinary Act of Kindness to your Petitioner A good Farm being offered to sale of about 400 Acres of Land with a good House on it a good Orchard of near 1000 fruit Trees, a good Barn Frame with a Kitchen & out Houses abt 7 miles from Lewes. They have advised him to buy it & promised to assist him unanimously to pay for it, that he may be enable to secure a more certain support for his Family.

And also yt no invitations from any neighboring vacant Parishes in Virginia or Maryland (Many of which have been offered to him) may move him to leave them. Accordingly he hath joined them in a bargain with the Owner of the Sd Land &c the price to be paid for it is 270 pounds of this Currency. 160 pounds are to be pd down now, & 110 a year hence. Your venerable Board will see by a Copy of the Subscription which he has caused to be exemplified & sent over to you regularly attested how far the poor people of this parish were able to help your Petitioner in this Affair. A Testimony of their zeal for Religion & their Esteem for your Petitioner.

But as Lewes is a chargeable place being a small Sea Port on the Mouth of the great River Delaware where all European goods are generally sold at near 200 pr cent advance in Short & for as much as your Petitioner hath a numerous Family to maintain viz a Wife & 4 Children & hath been often times in Charity obliged to entertain Ship wrecked & distressed people as well as in Civility to entertain Gentlemen & Strangers of the Communion of the Ch of England especially, who occasionally resort to the place, and as a Clergyman must be given to hospitality as well as apt to teach Sr your Petitioner hath not been able to save any money except only what may buy a Stock of Cattle & such Implements for Husbandry as are necessary upon a Farm & without wch it cannot turn to a profitable Account. Upon the whole your humble Petitioner desires the Hon Society to concur with his Parishioners in this Charitable Act that they will be pleased to bestow on your Petitioner something (whatever they in their wisdom & goodness shall think proper) towards paying for the Farm on which he is now settled, Or if not yt they will be so good as to advance a years Salary for him on the 25th of March next (when the Purchase Money is to be paid) . . . '726

²⁶Turner, *op. cit.* p. 195.

The Society did grant him £20, as he noted in his *Journal*. In his letter of August 25, 1736, he also wrote of this assistance.

On the tenth of May, 1732 he wrote:

"I moved my Family hither to his farm on the 30th day of March last and on the 25th of April all the Magistrates except a Quaker & a Presbyterian Justice (it being my Birth day) came to see me and wish me joy of my settlement among them for Life so yt you find that the Ch & State agree here very well."

The subscription list for the purchase of this farm gives some idea of the population of the parish and of the wealth of the inhabitants. Twenty-four signers were from Lewes and Rehoboth Hundred (one, he notes, a Presbyterian). The largest amount subscribed is five pounds, the smallest 15 shillings, and the total subscription from this Hundred is £66 s15. In Indian River Hundred there were 65 subscribers, but two pounds was the largest subscription and there are a number of subscriptions of five or six shillings. The total subscription was £58. In Cedar Creek Hundred there were 33 subscribers. Seven pounds was the largest subscription and ten shillings the smallest, and the total was £45 s2. The names in many cases are the names still found in this section of the state. Clowes, Wiltbank, Fisher, Prettyman, Stoakly, Warrington, Burton, Robinson, Waples, Atkins, Rickards, Russell, Wolfe, Carpenter, and Townsend, recur over and over.

Despite the fact that he was settled on his farm and that he happily thought he was settled "for life," he petitioned for an exchange with the Rev. William Harrison,²⁷ missionary to Staten Island. This came to nought and Becket transcribed Swift's "Vicar of Bray" in his *Journal*. Possibly he thought that he, like the vicar, was to remain where he was regardless of all other events. Becket was a great admirer of Swift and seems to have read his *London Magazine* regularly. His *Journal* quotes a number of passages at various times. Except for the classical Latin writers, there are no other quotations, although in 1731 he petitioned the S. P. G. for a subscription to "a certain paper printed Weekly by one Mr. Franklin of Phila."

Becket's correspondence for the years 1738-40 is very largely given over to accounts of his varying illnesses, which he usually calls pleurisy, to his discussion with and about Whitefield, and to the discussion of the new marriage licenses. His comments on Whitefield will be considered in another place.²⁸ The new marriage licenses, he

²⁷William Harrison (d. October 4, 1739) was the S. P. G. missionary on Staten Island, New York, from 1733-1739. (Pascoe, *op. cit.*, p. 855.)

²⁸See below, Chapter V.

wrote, owed their origin to the fact that the new government of Pennsylvania was under the influence of Quakers, and the president had taken on himself the right to grant marriage licenses which had formerly been a prerogative of the governor, and that the clergy and those who intended to be married had to apply to laymen for the licenses instead of to the clergy. Of course, he does not mention that the change deprived the clergy of a steady income, but one cannot doubt that this was on his mind.

Becket's last years in the Sussex Mission were full of long sieges of illness, and the Rev. Arthur Ussher, missionary at Dover, officiated a number of times. Becket died August 20, 1743, at the age of 50, his entire ministry having been in Sussex County. He was buried, as his will directed, in Lewes churchyard between his two wives. His will is as follows:

In the name of God and of the Ever Blessed Trinity, I William Becket missionary of the Society for the propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts being sound in judgement and memory but weak in body do make and ordain this my last will and testament in manner and form following: I resign up my soul to God who gave it humbly hoping for pardon and forgiveness thro Jesus Christ the Savior of me and all that believe in him, and my body I commit to the earth to be decently interred by my executors according to the rites and usages of the Church of England, and desire it may be buried between my two wives in the Church Yard of St. Peters, Lewis, in hopes of a joyful resurrection at the last day.

As to my worldly estate I dispose as follows: I will that my just debts be paid and discharged, and sence I have already given to my son-in-law William Futchter and his wife goods and chattles by building him a house giving him a negro and sundry other goods to ye value of £100 for which he and his wife are very ungratefull, I give each of them an english shilling and no more of my estate.

As to my house all my buildings my pattent and warrant lands amounting to about five hundred and fifty acres I give to be equally divided between my two daughters Elizabeth and Sannah to them and their heirs forever.

My negroes Jenny and Oxford I give to my said two daughters, but order that she that hath Oxford pay to the other a reasonable price of exchange and I leave my two said daughters executrixes of my last will and testament.

I leave my priests habits to any of my reverend brethren that shall preach my funeral, I leave to my good old friends Ryves Holt Esq. a gold ring now on my ring finger, and to Capt. Cord Hazzard my best riding saddle that I may have at the time of my death.

I give my two daughters aforesaid, free leave to keep or dispose of my house land &c as they may see convenient but then I will that no deed of sale for the lands, till they have advised with the two Gentlemen above and the hand of one or both of them is to the deed be valid, and I desire them to be supervisors of this my last will and to advise my children for the best, I declare this to be my last will and testament having no other.

Signed sealed published and declared to be the last will and of the testator in the presence of us.

Wm. Becket (SEAL)

Tests I. P. Plaskett
Ann Plaskett
Cornelius Burton

The words Acres, Funeral, and, be valid, were interlined before the sealing and delivering hereof.

I William Becket missionary of the society for the propagation of the Gospel in Foreign parts do by this codicil to my last will and testament give and bequeath to my son-in-law William Futchter my best suit of clothes,

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal
Signed and sealed in the presence of.

(SEAL)²⁹

In addition to the children named in the will, Becket had a son by his first wife, Mary, who died July 5, 1742, at the age of fifteen after having been sent to school in Philadelphia. Becket said he died of a "bloody flux." He was buried in the "back burying ground of Philadelphia, commonly called the Church burying ground." One of the daughters, aged 19 at his death, was a cripple.³⁰

Becket's long ministry in Sussex left a permanent field for the Church of England. His ministry was the longest in the history of the parish. Dr. Jenney, commissary of the province of Pennsylvania, wrote to the S. P. G. on November 4, 1743,³¹ and informed the Society of Becket's death. The secretary of the Society records:

" . . . This Gentleman had been fixed there by the Society in the year 1721; & from that year to the time of his Death, in the last Summer, he had laboured with great Diligence, & such Success in the Pastoral Office throughout the County, that according to the last letters received from him, the four churches in it under his care were so thronged, that in the Summer Season he was frequently obliged to preach under the green Trees for the Convenience of Room & fresh air; he is much lamented by his congregations, & hath left behind him the character of a pious, faithful, & orthodox Pastor. . . ."

²⁹Turner, *op. cit.* p. 219.

³⁰*Ibid.*, p. 228; also *Burial Record* of Christ Church, Philadelphia.

³¹*Ibid.*, p. 219.

THE REV. ARTHUR USSHER

After Becket's death, Arthur Ussher, missionary at Dover, lost no time in seeking appointment to the vacancy. On September 4, 1743, he wrote from Philadelphia:

"My Lord.—I am now all most seven years in the service of the venerable Society, and to the best of my knowledge and skill, have made use of all the possible means I could devise, to promote the glory of God, and the Salvation of Souls committed to my charge before the 26th of June last. I have baptized 510 grown persons and children, and since 45 children & 3 adults; The Mission of Lewes is now become vacant by the death of the late missionary Mr. Becket, the burthen of his charge lying upon me for these two years past (he being unable to officiate but a very short space of the above two years) . . ."³²

This request was granted, and on March 25, 1745, he wrote that he had not yet become completely settled in his new field; that he was the only minister in the county; that the dissenters attended his services and "behave decently & regularly when at church."³³ The original manuscript vestry records show that the vestry accepted him as their pastor on April 4, 1745. Within the next three months he baptised sixty-six children and adults. In his Christmas letter he wrote of the increasing number of dissenters attending services, and because they had no teacher among them, he was being requested to baptise a great number of their children. In six months he baptised 76 children and adults.

The large number of baptisms throughout this period is indeed remarkable, but one wonders what was done to stress the importance of baptismal vows on the part of sponsors, especially in the case of those who dissented from the Church. Between March 25, 1745, and June 11, 1750, his letters to the Society show that he baptised 400 white children, 12 white adults, 11 Negro adults and 14 Negro children. In every case when reporting adult baptisms, he records: "after proper instruction."

Many letters of other priests of the period express the hesitancy which slave holders had to the baptism of their Negroes. This hesitancy was engendered not only by the inconsistency of Christians holding other Christians as slaves, and of the feeling that baptism had a social element in it which gave the slave opportunity to become "uppity," but the question as to the legal right to hold Christian

³²Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

³³*Ibid.*, p. 229.

slaves was raised from time to time. Ussher overcame this attitude somewhat, for he wrote on December 26, 1749: "Masters & Mistresses are more inclined than ever to have their Negroes instructed in the Principles of the Ch. of England & Baptized."³⁴

Although there are no references in Ussher's letters to any interest in instruction in any secular studies, he constantly referred to his instruction in Christian doctrine. In addition to the references to instruction of adults prior to baptism, he wrote on June 26, 1746, that he catechised about twenty children after the second lesson on Sunday afternoons. The next year he catechised before sermon in the morning service, and gave a series of lectures on doctrine on Sunday evenings from March to September.

These labors were so successful that two additions were made in the church buildings. The names of the churches are not given, but St. George's Chapel had an addition started about this time and may be presumed to be one of these mentioned.

After the death of the Rev. Theophilus Morris about 1745 or 1746, and of the Rev. Thomas Bluett in 1749, Ussher supplied Dover once every five weeks.³⁵ Ussher supplied services as often as he could to all of the many stations within traveling distance, but this was far from satisfactory to the Lewes congregation. The vestry minutes for June 16, 1747, read: "The vestry Being Disatisfied with Mr. Ushers Delay to Come and settle in His mission, as also, His Coming to officiate at Lewes, But once in 3 weeks Broke up, without Transacting Any Business."

On June 26, 1749, Ussher informed the Society that his brother in England had recently died, and he asked permission to leave his mission for a trip to Ireland to settle the estate. This was granted, "Mr. Usher taking care that the Church be duly supplied during his absence."³⁶ Ussher did not receive this permission before December 26, 1749. He repeated the request and the next word of him is dated Lismore in Ireland, October 11, 1751. The secretary for the S. P. G. transcribed this letter as follows:

" . . . acquainting that when he left America he did not imagine that he should meet with so much Difficulty & Delay in the Settlement of his Deceased Brothers Affairs; but he thanked God, that they would be brought to a conclusion in Novr Term, & he hoped he would embark for his Mission the first opportunity

³⁴Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

³⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 229-231. Philip Reading of Appoquiniming did the same. *Vide*, Chapter II.

³⁶*Ibid.*, p. 231. *S. P. G. Records Series B.*, Vol. 20, p. 211, show that both Reading and Neill supplied at times during Ussher's absence.

following. He desires leave to live in that part of the Mission which shall appear most convenient for the better care of the Whole, & not be confined to Lewes, as they have provided him neither House, not Glebe, & yet expect he should Devote his Time to them to the Prejudice of the other Congregations.

Leave was given to settle in such Part of the Mission as may answer best for his taking Care of the Whole.'³⁷

Arthur Ussher was not the last mission priest to find that the distribution of his time among his several congregations was fraught with difficulties. Many men of the present day still find this no easy task.

On May 11, 1752, he returned as far as Philadelphia, but by October his health had broken down and he asked permission to return to Ireland. This letter is curious. He wrote that the congregation asked him to request the Society that no missionary, who had been bred a dissenter, should be sent to the Mission, because "such are seldom or ever Stedfast in Principles but comply too far with the Dissenters, which gives offence & renders them contemptible in the Eyes of the Church People."³⁸ One wonders whence came this prejudice. There appear to be no other letters which would throw any light upon the matter, but the attitude had considerable strength in the mission.

ITINERANT MINISTRIES

The congregations of St. Peter's, Lewes, and of St. George's, Indian River, in 1752 petitioned for a minister for these congregations alone. Whereupon the congregation of St. Matthew, Cedar Creek, protested that it was the "largest congregation, always had been zealous to embrace every opportunity of joining in the Divine Service, Greatest number of communicants, and many children Baptized, besides have subscribed most freely to their Minister, and (God be thanked) always have kept up a good harmony, one with another."³⁹ This last was undoubtedly a bit of irony directed toward the lower portion of the mission.

The Society ignored both advices and appointed the Rev. George Craig, an itinerant missionary in Pennsylvania, to the mission. Craig's petition for a permanent station had been dated November 16, 1752. However, when the Rev. Richard Locke arrived to take over Craig's

³⁷Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

³⁸*Ibid.*, p. 232.

³⁹Perry, *op. cit.*, V, 98.

work as itinerant in Pennsylvania, he found the congregations so much attached to the former pastor that he agreed to go to Lewes in Craig's place. He preached there several times, baptised some children, and asked for appointment to that place.⁴⁰ This was agreed to by the Society. How long he remained is not known, but in August 1755⁴¹ the petition of the three churches make no mention of him whatever, but rather refer to Ussher as their last pastor.⁴² In this petition they complain that they have been very much neglected throughout the whole of Ussher's term of appointment through his non-attendance and non-residence, and they ask for the appointment of the Rev. Matthew Harris who had visited and preached several times.

At this time Matthew Harris was 37. He was a native of Maryland, and had been ordained deacon by the bishop of London and priest by the bishop of Chester in March, 1753. Previous to his coming to Lewes, he had been at All Hallows Parish in Worcester County, Maryland. His license from the bishop of London was for Maryland only.⁴³ In November Harris also wrote requesting the appointment, but the Society did not grant the requests of the local people. This is one of the few instances of such action in Delaware. The three congregations (which the petition calls *Church* and *Chappels*) had agreed to pay Harris £60 to officiate for one year or until the Society should appoint him. Instead of appointing him, the Society appointed the Rev. Aaron Cleveland to the mission.

The Rev. Hugh Neill, missionary at Dover, officiated several times during the interim and wrote that the congregations were small "by reason of the Town going very much to decay."⁴⁴

THE REV. AARON CLEVELAND—CONVERT

In spite of Ussher's transmission of the request that "no one who had been bred a Dissenter" should be sent to the Sussex mission, the Society did just that. The Rev. Aaron Cleveland, their appointee, was the sixth child of Aaron Cleveland and Abigail Waters. He was born at Cambridge, Massachusetts, on October 19, 1715, which would make him 41 at the time of his coming to Lewes. He had graduated from Harvard in 1735, and is described as being tall, well proportioned, and a very powerful man. It is not definitely known under whom he

⁴⁰November 6, 1752. Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

⁴¹Original *Vestry MSS Record*.

⁴²Dr. Pascoe gives his dates as Lewes 1744-48; Radnor 1749-53. This is obviously in error.

⁴³*Collections, Protestant Episcopal Historical Society*, 1851, p. 113.

⁴⁴Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

studied theology, but one may venture a guess. In 1739 he married Susannah, the daughter of the Rev. Aaron Porter, pastor of the Congregational Church at Medford, Massachusetts, and in July, 1739, he was ordained pastor of the Congregational Church at Haddam, Connecticut. He became pastor of the South Precinct Congregational Church at Malden, Massachusetts, in May, 1747, and after three and one-half years went to the Congregational Church at Halifax, Nova Scotia. Here his religious views underwent a change, and in 1754 he returned to Boston and was asked to take charge of the Episcopal churches at Norwich and Groton, Connecticut, alternating each Sunday. The next year he went to England for ordination.⁴⁵ In 1756 the Society's secretary recorded:

"Agreed out of regard to Mr. Cleveland Petitioner to be sent Missionary to the Church at Norwich, & in Compassion to his numerous Family consisting of a Wife & 9 children to recommend Mr. Cleveland to the Society to be appointed Missionary to the Churches of Sussex Co. in Pennsylvania in the room of Mr. Locke deceased, if the Lord Bishop of London shall think him Worthy to admit him to Holy Orders.⁴⁶

"A letter from the Rev. Mr. Cleveland Missionary to Lewes in Pa. dated Norwich Jan. 10, 1756, acquainting that after a long and tedious Voyage he is safely arrived in New England & should have immediately proceeded to his Mission were it not for the following reasons Viz. In his Passage from Halifax to New England, a violent storm cast them on the sand called Nantucket Shoals, but by the goodness of God, they all escaped unhurt except Mr. Cleveland.

The vessel being poorly manned he was obliged to assist the Sailors, & was struck by the Violence of the Sea against the side of the Ship, & was bruised in his head & other parts of his Body; that he was taken up for dead; of which he was not fully recovered when he wrote.

He proposed to embrace the first opportunity of a Passage to Lewes."⁴⁷

When Cleveland arrived in Lewes, he found that Matthias Harris held the parish in the palm of his hand, and the vestry would not receive Cleveland as pastor.⁴⁸ On October 11, 1756, he informed the Society that he had held a communion service at which there were twenty communicants, that he had baptised 29 infants and two adults,

⁴⁵Sprague, *Annals of the Amer. Pulpit*, V, 164 ff.

⁴⁶He was licensed by the bishop of London for Pennsylvania July 28, 1755. Fulham MSS, Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 117. See also *Historical Magazine of the Episcopal Church*, XIII (1944). p. 133.

⁴⁷Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

⁴⁸Vestry Record, May 4, 1756.

but that Harris led the opposition to him, complaining that the Church service was Romish.⁴⁹ By November 3d even St. Matthew's, the only church in which he had been permitted to officiate, was locked against him. The secretary of the S. P. G. paraphrased his letter:

"They declare that no man but Mr. Harris should preach in it, though the Society shall discourage them ever so much. Mr. Cleveland is in a most distressed condition, many miles off his family, & nothing to support him or them but the Society's allowance, & used with much indignity. In this situation he craves the Society's assistance, that they would extricate him out of it by appointing him to succeed Mr. Brooke in Mission at New Castle. Agreed to &c." ⁵⁰

Aaron Cleveland moved from Lewes to New Castle, where we have recorded his death.⁵¹ Matthias Harris continued in Lewes at least through May 2, 1760.⁵² On that date the clergy met in Philadelphia and reported to the Society that Harris was still officiating in Lewes, and while he did not presume to take his seat in the convention, he had submitted letters from himself and from the congregations asking for the Society's acquiescence in his activities. The committee of the clergy to whom the papers were submitted returned them and would not send them to the Society.⁵³

The records of the Presbyterian Church at Lewes, the manuscript of which begins with the year 1758, records "Mr. Harris" as the former minister. There appears to be no other evidence, but does it seem likely that there should have been two clergymen in Lewes by the same name at the same time? Coupled with his accusation that the Church services were "Romish," it would appear that Mr. Harris was engaged in church unity long before our time. During this period Charles Inglis, the Dover missionary, distributed S. P. G. tracts in Lewes.⁵⁴ The Society bided its time until the mission should be properly subservient.

⁴⁹Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*

⁵¹See above, Chapter I.

⁵²Harris was also serving Worcester Parish in Maryland at this time. On January 20, 1755, the vestry agreed to have him read services there every fourth week. On May 25, 1756, he was paid 3960 pounds of tobacco for officiating eight Sundays. He was gone from Worcester at least by December 15, 1758. *Worcester Parish Register*, pp. 115, 117, 127.

⁵³Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

⁵⁴Lydekker, *Life of Charles Inglis*, p. 18.

THE REV. JOHN ANDREWS

On October 16, 1761, fifty-three men petitioned the Society to "forgive whatever was amiss in their conduct and take them back" into the Society's bounty.⁵⁵ Again on July 31, 1764, a letter was signed by Jacob Kollock, Daniel Nunez, Samuel Henney, Wiscam Lewis, Luke Shields, and Samuel Paynter, on behalf of the whole congregation, in which they promise to raise £75 Pennsylvania Currency for a missionary should the Society be willing to send a man.⁵⁶ The Society demanded that the parish provide a glebe, and, completely subservient by now, the parish agreed to this demand on May 12, 1764.⁵⁷ On November 11, 1766, they wrote to the secretary that, having had no word from the Society, they recommended Mr. John Andrews, the bearer of their letter, for the place in case the Society should see fit to accept him for ordination.⁵⁸ Dr. William Smith had been urging the appointment of a missionary, ever since 1762, and John Andrews was appointed the following year.

John Andrews was the son of Moses and Letitia Andrews, and was born in Cecil County, Maryland, about six miles from Elkton on April 4, 1746. The family were in comfortable circumstances, and John was graduated from the Academy and College of Philadelphia (later the University of Pennsylvania) in 1765. He taught in the academy for a time and then in the classical school at Lancaster, Pennsylvania. While there he read theology under the Rev. Thomas Barton, the S. P. G. missionary of Lancaster. He and Samuel Magaw sailed together for England for ordination. He was ordained deacon on February 2, 1767, by the bishop of St. David's in the Royal Chapel of St. James, Westminster, and thirteen days later was ordained priest in the same place by Bishop Terrick of London.⁵⁹ He required a dispensation, for he was but twenty-one years of age at the time, and was licensed for Pennsylvania on the same day as Samuel Magaw, February 19, 1767.⁶⁰ In the Church practice of the time, the "Three Lower Counties" were considered as part of Pennsylvania, and the clergy were more or less responsible to the commissary of the bishop of London for the province of Pennsylvania.

The original manuscript vestry records of St. Peter's Church, Lewes, for July 3, 1767, state that he "produced Credentials of his being admitted into priest's orders and his License to Preach in

⁵⁵S. P. G. MSS B, 21, #159.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, #161.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, #163.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, #165.

⁵⁹Sprague, *Annals*, V, 246 ff.

⁶⁰Perry, *Collections*, V, 117.

Pennsylvania." The letter from the Society appointing him to Lewes is dated February 21, 1767. In this same year he received his degree of master of arts from the college.⁶¹ Of his work in Lewes there are not many references, but a good survey of the situation is in his letter to the Society, a copy of which is in the vestry minutes:

August 4, 1768

Rev. Sir:

I have the pleasure to inform you that I live in great harmony with the people of my Mission and have some reason to hope that my labours among them will not be wholly useless. They are of a lively, apt disposition, very capable of improvement and what is more to their honor they are regular in their behaviour, frugal and industrious.

In a proper sense of religion indeed they appear somewhat deficient which cannot seem strange when it is considered how long they have been without the worship of God performed among them or at least without the performance of it in that manner which they approve and which they would cause to attend.

Their great misfortune is to be a people without learning which proceeds altogether from their extreme poverty. There is not a Grammar School within the County and it is a thing extremely rare to meet with a man who can write a tolerable hand or spell with propriety the most common words in the English Language.

Of the inconvenience of such a situation many of them seem sufficiently sensible but at the same time are unable to remove it.

In the Town of Lewes several attempts have been made to promote a Latin School and a genteel house for the purpose has been erected. But experience soon convinced the undertakers that their number was too small and too weak to supply for any length of time such a salary as would be worthy the acceptance of a man duly qualified. Under these circumstances without any public funds or other dependance of that kind, their attempts have hitherto proved unsuccessful.

I have made inquiries concerning the Secretary's Library in this Mission, but have not been able to find above 7 or 8 volumes. No missionary residing here for so many years, the Books have passed from one hand to another till at length they are either lost or destroyed.

On Christmas last I administered the Sacrament at St. Peter's in Lewes to 16 Communicants. On Easter at St. George's near Indian River to 34. On Whitsunday at St. Matthew's near Cedar Creek to 21. I have baptised 75 white & 1 black children and 1 adult. . .

And am, Rev. Sir, &c,
JOHN ANDREWS

⁶¹Stowe, W. H., (ed.), *Life and Letters of Bishop William White*, p. 17.

During his tenure at Lewes, Andrews became one of the charter members of the Society for the Relief of Widows and Orphans of Clergymen, whose affairs led to the first interstate meeting in the interests of the organization of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. By 1769 the malarial condition had begun to affect his health as he shows in his letter of August 4, 1768. He "feared there will be no stable Mission there till a person can be procured who was born in the place & is naturalized to it." On August 14, 1769, the clerk of the Lewes Vestry recorded:

"At a general meeting of the Church Wardens and Vestrys of the three several Churches in Sussex County at St. Peter's Church in Lewes Town in the said County, The Revd. Mr. John Andrews Missionary of the said Churches's present, who then and their acquainted the said vestrys that he intended shortly to remove to York Mission in Cumberland Co. in Pennsylvania, he having the Venerable Society's leave for that purpose and at the same time delivered a letter from the Revd. Mr. Richd. Peters. the Revd. D. D. William Smith & the Revd. Mr. Jacob Duche recommending the barer thereof the Revd. Mr. John Lyon to supply the Mission in the room of Mr. Andrews, Mr. Lyon having previous to this meeting officiated at the three several Churches's and was generally approved of. And it was now unanimously agreed that the same salary should be allowed yearly to the Revd. Mr. Lyon as was allowed to the Revd. Mr. Andrews to wit £75 p. annum for his salary & £18 p a untill a Gleab be purchaised fit for his Ecception and the same be paid in Equal proportion by the three Churches's for which sums the Revd. Mr. Lyon has agreed to officiate in this Mission, provided the Venerable Society should be pleased to establish him in the same, and it is also agreed by the Church Wardens & Vestry of St. Peter's Church that John Wiltbank Esq. be and is appointed one of the persons to purchase a Gleab in the sted of John Clowes Esq. late Desd."⁶²

THE REV. JOHN LYON

The Rev. John Lyon was a New Englander by birth, son of Matthew Lyon of Warrington, Lancashire, England, and when he arrived in Lewes to succeed John Andrews, he was married and had four children. He had expected to go to the Gloucester and Waterford Mission in New Jersey, but was disappointed in the prospect of that mission, and was prevailed upon by the clergy of Philadelphia to

⁶²After leaving Lewes, John Andrews had a very important place in the councils of the Church. He was one of the organizers of the Episcopal Academy in Philadelphia, and provost of the University of Pennsylvania. He died at the age of 67 and was buried in the churchyard of Christ Church, Philadelphia.

act as *locum tenens* in the Lewes Mission until the Society should have an opportunity to make the appointment.⁶³ The Society appointed him to the mission beginning Lady Day, 1769.⁶⁴

He and his family were plagued by ill health. Every letter with one exception speaks of this trial; his wife and one child died in Lewes. By October 24, 1770, he informed the Society that a glebe had been bought at the cost of £190 Pennsylvania Currency, and a house was being erected. Most of his letters are strictly reports of baptisms, marriages, et cetera. They show that in spite of his poor health he was indefatigable in his ministrations. In the four years of his tenure he baptised 726 white infants, 2 white adults, 46 Negro infants, and 7 Negro adults. He married 115 couples and buried 45 individuals. This is no mean record for four years' work, especially when we consider that his schedule of services required that he travel over an area of 125 square miles. One can also see the improvement being made in the roads of Sussex, for Lyon wrote to the Rev. Dr. Richard Peters of Philadelphia concerning the construction of a carriage.⁶⁵

Some difficulties arose through the inadvertence of the Society's secretary, and Lyon's bills were protested. In December 1772, he wrote to Dr. Peters, rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia:

Revd. Sir—The following is a copy I recev'd yesterday from Dr. Burton relative to the Bill of Exchange I had protested.

Revd. Sr. I am truly sorry to be informd that your Bill drawn some Time Since, for £70 has not been properly honored, Our Treasurer in this has made some strange Mistake—had he consulted, either me or our Journals, he would have known that it was your due—However It is now ordered to be paid and also the £20 subsequent Bill, which you have drawn—Dr. Peters and Dr. Smith acquaint me, that they have prevailed on the Merchant, not to require in this Instance, the usual Forfeit on protested Bills: If there are any small Charges which you incur by this Mistake I will use my Interest with the Society that you may not be a sufferer,—Tho by the Time that I shall receive your answer I shall not be Secretary having Resigned that Office—which resignation will be accepted at Christmas next—however, I shall continue to attend the Board as a Member, & always be ready to do any good office, & show my regard to the Missionaries—I am your Affectionate & humble servt.

Abington Street
Westminster
July, 19, 1772

D. Burton

⁶³Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

⁶⁴*Minutes of the S. P. G.*

⁶⁵MSS letter in the *Peters' Papers*, VII, 103, in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

You will not direct any more letters to me—but to the Secretary—

I ask your Advice Dear Sir & pray your bond Show this Coppy to Dr. Smith and greatly oblige your grateful and Most Affectionate humble Servt.

Lewes
9 Dec. 1772

John Lyon⁶⁶

On October 25, 1772, he wrote to the secretary of the Society that he was being charged £14 19s.3d. forfeit, with interest charges, and asked what was to be done about it. No reply to this request has been discovered, but when he left Lewes the following year, he also left the employ of the Society and went to Virginia in Accomac County.⁶⁷

In spite of the fact that he was receiving £50 sterling from the Society, £75 Pennsylvania Currency from the churches, and had a glebe farm, Lyon had his financial difficulties. He had four children, and entered on his work in Sussex by borrowing £31 from the vestrys of the three churches.⁶⁸ Added to this original difficulty was the continual sickness of the whole family and the death of his wife and child. Perhaps, too, that carriage had something to do with his difficulties.⁶⁹

THE REV. SAMUEL TINGLEY AND THE REVOLUTION

After Lyon's resignation, the Philadelphia clergy sent the Rev. Samuel Tingley to supply until the Society's pleasure should be known. He was born in New York about 1745, and was ordained in 1773.⁷⁰ His letters of recommendation to the mission were signed by Samuel Auchmuty, Charles Inglis and John Ogilvie. The latter wrote:

⁶⁶*Peters' Papers MSS*, VIII, 13.

⁶⁷*St. Peter's Vestry Record* notes on November 3, 1773, that he has gone to Virginia.

⁶⁸*St. Peter's Vestry Records*, August 14, 1769.

⁶⁹*Accomac Deed Book XIII*, 438. In Virginia he became rector of St. George's (old Pungoteague) Church, and old St. James', which was a few miles south of the town of Accomac. It does not appear when he married, but the will of John Smith of Onancock, dated 1779, speaks of his daughter, Sarah, as married to the Rev. Mr. Lyon. During the Revolution he had difficulties with the patriots as is shown in volumes two and three of the Virginia Calendar of State Papers, yet without giving any evidence of change of opinions he returned to his parish in February, 1782, from imprisonment at Williamsburg. On April 27, 1785, his widow Sarah was appointed executrix of his estate, he having died intestate. The only child of whom there appears any record is a son, Ethel [sic].

⁷⁰The bishop of London's license to Tingley was dated March 8, 1773; he was listed under the province of New Jersey; and St. John's Church, Elizabeth Town, N. J., appears to have recommended him. (See *Historical Magazine of the Episcopal Church*, Vol. XIII (1944) p. 142.)

Gentlemen

By a letter from the Revd. Wm. Tingley I am informed that your Mission is Vacant by the Removal of the Revd. Mr. Lyon to Virginia and that you entertain some thoughts of inviting Mr. Tingley to succeed to your parish. I have therefore taken the liberty (though I have not the pleasure of a personal acquaintance) To Recommend that Gentleman as an Orthodox pious Minister of the Church of England and from his established Character as a Sensible, Pious and Worthy Man I have the strongest Reason to believe that wherever he may be Called as a Minister of Christ he will be instrumental in promoting the Interest of Our most Holy Religion. I am, Gentlemen,

with the most Cordial respect
your very humble servt.

John Ogilvie

On November 3, 1773, the clerk of St. Peter's vestry wrote:

The Revd. Mr. Samuel Tingley from New York Offered his services to officiate as Our Minister untill the Society's Pleasure be known, and produced his Credentials of his being regularly admitted into holy orders. Whereupon the said Church Wardens and Vestry of the three Churches agreed to accept the sd. Mr. Tingley upon the same Terms that the Revd. Mr. Lyon (who is lately moved to a parish in Virginia) Continued here amongst us. to wit That the said three Churches is to raise and pay to the said Mr. Tingley the sum of seventy five pounds per annum or £25 Each Church—and that the members of St. Matthews Church at Cedar Creek pay him the sum of six pounds per Annum in lieu of a Glebe and that the other two Churches permit the said Mr. Tingley to have the use of the Glebe by them lately purchased.⁷¹

In his letter to the Society on November 10, 1774, Tingley said that, though he had been recommended by Dr. Peters and other clergymen, he had not heard from the Society, and that he had officiated in the Sussex Mission since October 14, 1773. He had held services in his mission and also frequently officiated "in an old ruinous church in the Forest, to a poor people, who are 8 miles distant from St. Georges." He had 110 communicants in the whole mission. Considering that confirmation was not possible, this was a good number. By 1851 the number was 56 in the whole area which had been covered by Tingley.⁷² So far had the Church slipped from its original advantage. Tingley also said in this letter that he had baptised 6 white adults and 202 children; 13 black adults and 43 children. He listed the following books as being still in the parish:

⁷¹*St. Peter's Vestry Record*, MSS.

⁷²*Diocesan Journal* for 1851.

Burkett on the New Testament
 Burnett on the 39 Articles
 Barrow's Works, 2 vols. folio
 Book of Homilies
 Archbishop Tillotson's Sermons 1 vol. folio
 Stanhope's Epistles & Gospels, 3rd & 4th vols.

It was not until Good Friday, 1775, that the news of his appointment reached the Sussex mission—nearly a year and a half after he had taken charge of the mission. Except for the notation agreeing to wall in the churchyard in 1776, the minutes of the vestry of St. Peter's Church for the years 1775 to 1781 are rather perfunctory, listing only the names of Tingley and those elected vestrymen for the ensuing year. There are a few other indications of Tingley's activities during this period. The old *Clowes Bible*, a family record, has the following notation:

"1777 Friday, Sept. 7 at 1 o'clock in the morning, was born John Clowes, & was Baptized by the Rev. Samuel Tinley on Saturday, May 28, 1778, at our own home. The reason why he was so long unbaptized was the times. Toryism prevailed & it was dangerous to go to church & the Parson seldom called on us."

Further indications of activities in Sussex during the Revolution will be noted in another chapter. It is sufficient here to point out that Tingley held services throughout the period of difficulties. In his letter to the Society⁷³, in which he discussed the problems of his parish during the Revolution, he said that he had drawn no salary for six years. The Society paid this bill and continued his salary until December, 1783, when he accepted a parish in Maryland, Somerset County.⁷⁴

⁷³C. F. Pascoe, in his *Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G.*, p. 40, thus summarizes Tingley's experiences during the Revolutionary War:

"One of those who remained and persevered in the faithful discharge of his duty, 'in spite of threats and ill treatment,' was the Rev. S. Tingley of Lewes, who was unable to communicate with the Society for six years (1776-82). During this period he went about Sussex County, and sometimes into Maryland, 'strengthening and confirming the brethren,' travelling 'at least 8,000 miles a year,' [obviously an error; should be '3,000 miles a year'] and baptizing 'several thousands . . . and among them, many blacks, from 60 years to 2 years old.' He 'seldom performed publick service without having at the same time 30, 40, or 50 baptisms.' His 'difficulties and sufferings' were 'many and great'; often he 'scarcely had bread to eat, or raiment to put on,' and the Revolutionists were so cruel as to deprive his family of some refreshments which had been sent him, 'though his weak and dying wife begged a small part only of the things as a medicine'."

⁷⁴He died in 1800, after serving Coventry Parish (1785), Stepney Parish (1796) where he had an academy at Salisbury, and Worcester Parish (1798). [See Allen: *Clergy of Maryland*, p. 75; and *Worcester Parish Register*, p. 106.]

POST-REVOLUTIONARY CLERGY

No records of any kind appear in the Lewes and Indian River Churches from the departure of the Rev. Samuel Tingley in December of 1783 until the vestry meeting of St. Peter's Church in April of 1786. At this meeting the Rev. John Wade⁷⁵ presided. It does not appear when he became priest of these churches, but it is significant that no baptisms, marriages, or funerals are listed in *St. George's Register* until 1786.

The next item available is as follows:

At a Meeting of several of the Wardens and Vestry of Saint Peter's Parish at Lewes it was agreed that the Revd. Mr. Sykes⁷⁶ should officiate at said Church for one year Commencing the first day of June instant: Whereupon the said Wardens and Vestry have let out the Pewes in said Church to the following Persons who do hereby oblige themselves their Executors and Adinore respectively to pay or cause to be paid to the said Stephen Sykes or any person appointed to receive the same the Sums against their respective Names set down by equal Quarterly Payments. In witness whereof they have hereto set their hands the 10th day of June 1789.

⁷⁵The case of the "Rev. John Wade" is a puzzle. In G. M. Hills, *History of the Church in Burlington, N. J.*, pp. 326-327, the vestry of that parish, towards the close of 1787, agreed to recommend Mr. John Wade to Bishop White of Pennsylvania for orders. Bishop White apparently ordained him, for at the Easter meeting of St. Mary's parish, Burlington, the Rev. John Wade appears as minister, and the parish register shows that on March 19, 1788 (which was Wednesday in Holy Week that year), Wade officiated at a baptism; but Burgess' *List of Deacons* gives no one by that name as being ordained by Bishop White or any other bishop about that time. His employment in St. Mary's parish must have been very short, for in 1789 the Rev. Levi Heath was the rector.

In the General Convention *Journal* of 1795, Wade is listed as "residing at present at Colestown" (N. J.). In the same *Journal* a Rev. John Wade appears in the list of Virginia clergy, but without cure and without address.

At the adjourned convention of the diocese of New Jersey, August 15, 1798, "the Rev. John Wade produced his letters of orders, and a certificate of his induction into the Protestant Episcopal Church at Penn's Neck: Whereupon it was resolved, that the Rev. Mr. Wade take his seat in convention" (1890 Reprints of *New Jersey Diocesan Journals*, p. 193).

In the General Convention *Journal* of 1799, the Rev. John Wade is again listed under Virginia clergy without cure and without address. He does not appear in the New Jersey list of clergy after 1798, either in the diocesan or General Convention *journals*. He entirely disappears from the records.

The puzzle is: Were there two "John Wades"? One in Virginia, and one in New Jersey, about the same time? Obviously, the John Wade of Burlington, N. J., in 1787, could not have officiated as a priest in the Lewes and Indian River churches in 1786, for he was not in deacon's orders until early in 1788. If there were two John Wades, the Virginia Wade might have been in priest's orders in 1786, and could have officiated in Delaware at that time. However, the *List of Clergymen Licensed to the American Colonies by the Bishops of London* gives no John Wade, and no one by that name was ordained by Bishop Seabury. With our present sources the puzzle cannot be solved.

⁷⁶Stephen Sykes was ordered deacon, May 18, 1788, by Bishop William White, of Pennsylvania. In 1795, he was listed in Anne Arundel Parish, Maryland. About 1795 he moved to South Carolina [Allen, *Clergy of Maryland*, p. 23].

After which follows a list of twenty-four names with a total subscription of £38.

No other parish record of Wade is known. He is not mentioned in the records for June 29, 1789, or for July 18, 1789. On June 30, 1790 a meeting was called to raise funds for the support of the Rev. William Skelly,^{76a} who was to preach at the church every sixth Sunday. The other five Sundays were to be devoted to Dagsboro, Indian River, Cedar Creek, Broad Creek and Milton.⁷⁷ This arrangement prevailed until 1795 when the Rev. James Wiltbank,⁷⁸ deacon, was accepted by the parish. The condition of the churches and glebes, and of the organization of the national Church, will be discussed in another connection.

APPENDIX

NOTE ON PRINCE GEORGE'S AND BROAD CREEK CHURCHES

Two churches now situated in Delaware and part of the diocese of Delaware were once chapels-of-ease to Maryland parish churches. Before the settlement of the Delaware-Maryland boundary line the western and southern parts of Sussex County were considered part of Maryland. It will be noted in footnote 76a that the vestry of Broad Creek still considered themselves in Maryland in 1786. The territory served by the churches in Laurel and Delmar was part of Stepney Parish and the territory south of Indian River was part of Worcester Parish. Worcester Parish in fact had its tobacco warehouse on Indian River. Here tobacco collected by the sheriffs for church taxes was gathered until sold for church expenses. Neither of these churches, Prince George's or Christ Church, properly belong to the Delaware scene until the formation of the diocese of Delaware. At the early conventions both were represented.

The notices of Christ Church, Broad Creek, as found in the *Stepney Parish Register* are rather meager, but the register was not particularly well kept. Under the rectorship of the Rev. John Patterson,⁷⁹ the vestry laid a special tax of tobacco on all tax payers in the

^{76a}William Skelly, recommended by the Rev. J. Bowie and the vestry of Broad Creek in Maryland, was ordered deacon, July 2, 1786, and priest, July 3, 1786, by Bishop Samuel Seabury of Connecticut. [*Historical Magazine of the Episcopal Church*, Vol. XIII (1944) pp. 51, 68.]

⁷⁷This was St. John the Baptist Church "in the Forest". It was at a fording place on Long Bridge Branch, and was used as a church until 1800; later it was used as a school. See Conrad, *History of Delaware*, II, 714.

⁷⁸James Wiltbank was ordered deacon, March 1, 1795, by Bishop William White of Pennsylvania [Burgess' *List of Deacons*, p. 4.]

⁷⁹*Stepney Parish Register*, MS copy in Maryland Historical Society, p. 341 ff.

year 1771,⁸⁰ and on January 25, 1771, Robert Holston was paid £255 as one half the amount agreed upon for his work in building the chapel.⁸¹ In the following year the remaining £255 were paid him,⁸² but the vestry did not collect the necessary £510 until September 25, 1772.⁸³ In 1773, £1, 2, 6 were paid William Alagood for serving as sexton of Broad Creek,⁸⁴ and in 1774 he was paid £1, 10.⁸⁵ but no other record of Broad Creek Chapel appears in the parish register. At the formation of the diocese of Delaware the church was represented by both clerical and lay delegates.⁸⁶

The *Worcester Parish Register* on the contrary is not only very full and detailed in its account, but is quite well kept in a neat legible hand. On June 9, 1755, the vestry met and agreed to build a chapel-of-ease at "Black foot Town on the South Side of Peppers Creek." ⁸⁷

It is amusing to conjecture that this name may have been given the town as a result of the soil about that section of the county. It is almost as black as coal, and, wet or dry, has a clinging power which could very easily mark the inhabitants, especially in days when hot water baths were more difficult to come by than they are today.

In July, 1755, the vestry met again and agreed to "set up advertisements for Leting out the Church and Chapel ye 12 of August." ⁸⁸ Four days later they met at "Black foot Town" and purchased two acres of land from Walter Evans for 207 pounds of tobacco.⁸⁹ No record appears as to when the work was begun on the chapel, but in December the vestry authorized Captain Derrickson to buy plank to finish it.⁹⁰ The sixth of the following December they agreed with Daniel Hull who was to lay the "Gallares Flowers 45 feet Long and 7 feet wide and wainscoting the Gallares all Round and 2 pews [one word is illegible here] one pew for Strangers and on To let which ye Vestry agrees to give Twenty pound for Doing ye Sd. work." ⁹¹ On April 14, 1757, the vestry met and laid off the spaces for the pews and required those to whom pews were assigned to take three other families into their pews and to build the pews within six months.⁹²

⁸⁰*Stepney Parish Register*, MS copy in Maryland Historical Society, p. 352.

⁸¹*Ibid.*, p. 372.

⁸²*Ibid.*, p. 372. The Houston family of Sussex County claim this should be Robert Houston.

⁸³*Ibid.*, p. 359.

⁸⁴*Ibid.*, p. 336.

⁸⁵*Ibid.*, p. 359.

⁸⁶See Chapter IX.

⁸⁷*Op. cit.*, p. 116.

⁸⁸*Ibid.*, St. Martin's Church was being built about the same time.

⁸⁹*Ibid.*, 116.

⁹⁰*Ibid.*

⁹¹*Ibid.*, p. 118.

⁹²*Ibid.*

Meeting to receive the chapel from the builders on June 20, 1757, they found themselves forced to adjourn for ten days until the building could be completed. On the thirtieth they received the building and "Gave it the name of Prince Georges Chappell."⁹³

The following year Captain Derrickson was appointed to get a "Stock Lock for the front Dor of the new Chapell and Bars and Bolts for the Windows and to Remove the Pulpit into the Vestry Pew."⁹⁴

On June 6, 1763, Joseph "Dirickson" made application to the vestry to build a chancel in Prince George's Chapel and was given permission to do so, raising his funds by subscription.⁹⁵ No further record was made of this addition, but it was accomplished, for many old prints are extant showing this T shaped building with a paladian window. However, some indication of its construction can be seen in that the older part of the building is still standing, rough as its carpentry is, but the newer portion has disappeared entirely. It is generally said that General Dagsworthy was buried in the chancel of the newer portion.

No records were made in the parish register during the revolution until about 1798, when we find records of Samuel Tingley being paid.⁹⁶

The last record of Prince George's is dated August 3, 1801, when "Mr. James King and Laban Johnson [were] Elected by the Vestry to visit St. [sic] George's Parish at Dagsbury, in order to see if said St. George's Parish will unite with Worcester Parrish to support a Minister."⁹⁷ Evidently the Marylanders did not approve of such a Tory name as "Prince George's."

⁹³*Stepney Parish Register*, MS copy in Maryland Historical Society, p. 118. The chapel cost 39,200 pounds of tobacco (p. 157) or £105, 11, 7. (p. 179).

⁹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 121.

⁹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 157.

⁹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 106.

⁹⁷*Ibid.*

CHAPTER V

CHURCHMEN, LUTHERANS, AND METHODISTS

IN eighteenth century Delaware two efforts at cooperation between Anglicans and those with other points of view were attempted. One began with two separate and distinct National Churches and resulted in an American amalgam. The other began as a religious movement within the English Church and resulted in schism. Although both these movements extend beyond the borders of the Lower Counties, yet both had very definite effects upon the Church in Delaware and both had some of their most important events within the confines of the Three Counties.

I. RELATIONS WITH THE SWEDISH LUTHERANS

Chronologically the Swedish-English cooperative movement came first. Early in 1638 the Swedes arrived on the Delaware and made settlements on both sides of the river. They had Swedish pastors and the religious life of the communities was under their direction. Reorus Torkillus was the first of these.¹ Services at the Christina settlement, which was to become Wilmington, were held at first in the fort, then a small log church was built, and by 1667 a small log church was built at Cranehook, some short distance from the fort, as this location was considered more advantageous for the Dutch, with whom many of the Swedes had married, and who were living at Sandhook. The Rev. Lars Lock was the last of these original Swedish clergy, and for some years before his death he was so crippled as to be incapacitated. Pastor Jacob Fabritius of Wicacoa (Philadelphia) assisted from time to time at Cranehook until he became blind. Services were held by laymen after 1682. Fruitless attempts were made to have the Lutheran Consistory of Amsterdam provide ministers. Finally Charles Springer, whose mother was nurse to the Queen of Sweden, in company with others of the congregation, entered into correspondence with John Thalin, postmaster of Gotheborg, with regard to their spiritual difficulties. These letters were brought to the attention of the royal chancellory.

King Charles XI consulted with Dr. Jesper Swedberg,² then provost of Upsala Cathedral. Dr. Swedberg reminded the king of a num-

¹Burr, N. H., "Early History of the Swedes and the Episcopal Church in America," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, VII (1938), p. 113.

²Father of Emanuel Swedenborg. Later bishop of Upsala; member of the Venerable Society from 1712.

ber of trust estates in Hamburg which were under the control of the King of Sweden and which had been set aside in past years for the conversion of the heathen, and especially the Jews. Over a period of years the original trust had been lost sight of, and for some time past the funds had been used to pay the traveling expenses of a number of royal courtiers. At Swedberg's suggestion these funds were now made available for the traveling expenses of the missionaries, and for the stipend of a provost to superintend their activities along the Delaware. Andrew Rudman, Eric Björk, and Jonas Auren were selected for the mission.³

From the beginning of the revived mission the closest relations were maintained between the English and Swedish clergy. It is popular in these times to explain this connection by pointing to the fact that the Church of Sweden and the Church of England, while conforming to the principles of Reformation, kept the historic episcopate which was in true possession of the apostolic succession. Nowhere in contemporary documents has been found even the slightest allusion to such an idea as the basis of intercommunion along the Delaware. Muhlenberg in his *Journal* does make the statement that the lack of episcopal consecration among the German Lutherans prevented them from enjoying the privileges of the English Church along with their Swedish brethren, but this one instance is cited in the case of the New York churches.⁴ No such evidence has been found along the Delaware. Far from resting upon catholic grounds of apostolic succession, the documents seem to show that cooperation rested upon the fact that both were national Churches, both were heavily tinged with Erastianism, and both were doctrinally latitudinarian with respect to Church order at that time.

That this was true of the English Society for the Propagation of the Gospel may be seen from the fact that not only the bishops of Upsala, Skara and Stregnetz, in Sweden, were made members of the Society, but over forty members of Lutheran and Reformed Churches in Holland, Germany, Sweden, and Switzerland were made members also.⁵ So far as the English were concerned this paid dividends. In Amsterdam the burgomasters set apart a site for a church "for the Interest of the English Nation, the honour of its Establish'd Church and the comfort of its members residing there . . ."⁶ The same was

³A very full account of this episode is to be found in Israel Acrelius, *A History of New Sweden* (Philadelphia, 1894) who was provost along the Delaware from 1749 to 1756.

⁴Muhlenberg, H. M., *Journal* (Philadelphia, 1944—), I, 566.

⁵Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the SPG.*, p. 732.

⁶*Ibid.*

done in Rotterdam and in Moscow. In Neufchatel, Geneva, the Divine worship was made as "conformable as might be to the English Liturgy." On the part of the Swedes there are a number of references to the "National Church" and the "State Church."⁷

SWEDISH CLERGY AND THEIR MINISTRY TO ENGLISH CHURCHMEN

Sailing from Dalaron, Sweden, the missionaries arrived in London on October 10, 1696, and were given a personal passport by the king himself. Traveling to Virginia, then to the head of the Elk, they arrived on June 24th. Pastor Rudman chose Wicacoa as his charge and Björk took up the work at Cranehook. Pastor Auren's task was to explore the situation and then return to Sweden with an account of the colony.

Rudman, after about three years, was succeeded at Wicacoa by Andrew Sandel, but the time of the year being bad for ocean traveling, Rudman occupied himself by serving the English churches at Philadelphia and Oxford⁸ as well as New Castle.⁹ Although he planned to return to Sweden, he died before he could do so, September 17, 1708. Strangely enough, his funeral sermon was preached by Pastor Björk in English. Both Björk and Rudman were active in the clerical gatherings of English priests. When the clergy of New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania met at Burlington on November 2, 1705, and sent a letter to the English archbishops and to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel asking for the appointment of a suffragan bishop for America, Björk and Rudman were present and joined in signing the letter.¹⁰

Björk's record in the *Records of Holy Trinity (Old Swedes) Church* abounds with references to his activities in the English churches. "The first Sunday after Holy Trinity the 13th of June, 1707 I was at the upper congregation, and on that occasion I preached in English in the church above Frankfort [Oxford] . . ."¹¹ On the seventh of August, 1709, he agreed with the English living about Christina to hold services for them thereafter, they being without a pastor. Both the Swedish and the English services were held in the morning, only a hymn separating them.

"I bade the congregation not to take this wrong, but rather be glad and thank God for the signal grace that they so far from

⁷*Records of Holy Trinity Church*, p. 143 ff.; Acrelius, *op. cit.*, p. 237 ff.

⁸Acrelius, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

⁹Conrad, *op. cit.*, II: 759.

¹⁰Hills, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-2.

¹¹*Op. cit.*, p. 122.

their Fatherland and under another government have yet the advantage in spiritual things, to have Priests who not only can serve themselves, but also the English instead of what would seem more likely that the Swedes should need the help of the English. Therefore that they should grant their fellow-christians in common with themselves, the preaching of God's word and administration of his ordinances, which peradventure they may at some other time need of them.'"¹²

On September 5, 1710, while Ross was in England, Björk was requested to preach every other Sunday at Marcus Hook until a new English priest should be sent, but after preaching once he found them so lacking in zeal that he refused to go again.¹³

On May 18, 1711, Björk and George Ross, now returned to Chester, exchanged pulpits for the day and preached in each other's churches. Pastors Andrew Hessellius and Abraham Lidenius arrived the first of May of that year and on the twentieth all three pastors traveled to Oxford where, with John Talbot, Evan Evans, John Clubb, John Humphreys and Pastor Sandell of Wicacoa, they laid the cornerstone of Oxford Church. After recounting the kindness of Evan Evans in introducing them to the "best people" of Philadelphia and transcribing a letter from the bishop of London recommending Hessellius and Lidenius to the clergy of Pennsylvania, he said:

"And we have always been counseled and instructed from Sweden to maintain friendship and unity with the English, so that we and the English Church shall not reckon each other as dissenters like the Presbyterians, Anabaptists, Quakers, &c, but as Sister Churches.'"¹⁴

The use of this word "dissenter" emphasizes his work as a representative of a *national church*, and his objection to the other churches is not on the basis of their doctrine, but rather on the fact that they were not recognized by the state.¹⁵

Björk joined with John Talbot and six other English priests in laying the cornerstone of St. Mary's Church, Burlington, on March second of the following year, after which the whole company journeyed

¹²*Records of Holy Trinity, etc.*, p. 133.

¹³*Ibid.* p. 136.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 143.

¹⁵"Throughout the eighteenth century the kings of England were, at the same time, electors of Hanover, providing for the spiritual care of their subjects in England through the archbishops and bishops, and in Hanover through the Lutheran consistorium. . . . While the Royal family attended the episcopal services, their court attended as a rule the services of the German royal chaplain at the St. James's Chapel." W. Muss-Arnolt, *The Book of Common Prayer among the Nations of the World*, S. P. C. K., London, 1914. *Vide* p. 126.

to Oxford for the opening of that church. "When any English Church was consecrated, the Swedish Ministers were invited thereto. But, according to English custom, that was nothing more than a church opening, inasmuch as they hold that no one but a Bishop can consecrate a church."

We have already seen that after the arrival of Hesselius, Björk, finding it impractical to return to Sweden in the late autumn, took charge of the New Castle congregation so as to permit Jacob Henderson to accept work at Annapolis.¹⁶

The Swedish Church usually conformed to the episcopal system, but the three Swedish pastors, Björk, Rudman, and Sandel, performed the first Lutheran ordination in America. After leaving the congregation at Wicacoa, Rudman had supplied the English churches at New Castle, Oxford and Philadelphia. Then the Dutch Lutheran congregations in New York and Albany prevailed upon him to accept charge of their congregations. This he refused to do, desiring to return to Sweden. In his place he suggested Justus Falkner. Falkner had been a student of theology in Germany, but had not been ordained before leaving that country, and the Swedish pastors ordained him in the Wicacoa Church in 1703. Today this is cited as a very exceptional case—one based upon necessity. Israel Acrelius, in telling of the event in his account of New Sweden,¹⁷ gives no impression that it was anything other than a normal ordination. No question seems to have entered his mind as to the propriety of the action.

Acrelius also records that in 1713 Anders Silvius, a school teacher, came to this country, and it was thought that he might be induced to fill Sandel's place when the latter returned to Sweden. Upon recommendation of the pastor he was given a license to preach by Bishop Svedberg.

"In the year 1714, three years afterwards, [i. e., after Sandel's request to return to Sweden] upon Mr. Sandel's recall home, there also came an order from the Bishop for him, as Provost for the time being, to ordain Arvid Hernbom to the priesthood, so that he might serve the congregation after his departure until another appointment was made."¹⁸

The ordination did not take place because the young man declined the honor, but Acrelius never seems to have considered the right of the pastors to ordain him as anything other than normal procedure.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, Chapter I.

¹⁷Acrelius, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 219.

On April 17, 1711, Eric Björk crossed the Delaware to hold services for the Swedish congregations living in Jersey. There he found a Baptist minister by the name of Cabner had been reviling him, and for some reason which he does not mention, Cabner decided to apologize publicly for the things he had said. After giving him his forgiveness for the public act of penance, Björk says:

"I assured him of my friendship, and at that time I talked with him with regard to what it was to be a Priest, and he acknowledged that he was not a minister as the English term it, but only serve those of his opinion with the intention of building up a society."¹⁹

Björk does not further elucidate what he means by this. It is possible that he was thinking of the Church as the Body of Christ and the priesthood as of dominical institution, but when he compares the Church with a society, it appears that he was more likely thinking of a state controlled ministry where the clergy serve everyone within their legal parish in the capacity of an official of the state.

When Pastor Naesman was recalled to Sweden, he was not anxious to return, and there was some question as to the acceptance of his successor, Pastor Parlin. "However, both stood under the order of their gracious King and the ruling authorities—the one to come, the other to go."²⁰ And go he did. The king's ruling was the deciding factor in the discussion, and decidedly points out the Erastian nature of the Swedish Church.

Andrew Hesselius, who succeeded Eric Björk at Christina on May 1, 1713, continued the Swedish-English relationship carried on by Björk. A meeting of all the English and Swedish clergy was held at Christina in July of that year, and beginning in July, 1720, he preached in St. James', Whiteclay Creek, every third Sunday as well as supplying at Appoquinimy. In the *Records of Holy Trinity (Old Swedes) Church* there are a number of instances recorded of baptisms in both churches having been performed by Hesselius. As a result of these ministrations the Rev. David Humphreys, secretary of the Venerable Society, wrote to Hesselius on May 8, 1721:

Revd. Sir:

The society for the propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts have received a representation from the clergy in Pennsylvania, setting forth the good services you have done by reading prayers and preaching in the several vacant churches in Pennsylvania, and

¹⁹*Record of Holy Trinity*, etc., for this date.

²⁰Acrelius, *op. cit.*, p. 257.

have ordered me to acquaint you that in consideration of your past labours they have presented you with the sum of 10 pounds for which you may draw on their treasurer. They have also agreed to allow you ten pounds per annum in case you perform Divine service and preach in the English language in the several vacant churches in Pennsylvania, at least twenty times in one year, and transmit over hither, proper certificates thereof.

I am, Reverend Sir,
Your most humble servant,
David Humphreys,
Secretary.²¹

Hesselius and Lidenius were called back to Sweden in 1723. George Ross, John Humphreys and William Becket wrote to the S. P. G. in April of that year, telling of the work these men had done in supplying services in the vacant English churches of the province, with the result that thirty pounds was given them upon their arrival in London.

The Rev. Samuel Hesselius, who had come to this country in 1719 and who had been serving at what is now Conshohocken, succeeded his brother Andrew at Christina. He too continued to serve English churches but was not so successful in keeping his Swedish congregations happy, for they accused him of neglecting his Swedish work for the benefit of the English, and in 1729 he was reprimanded by the provost of Fahlun for this neglect among other things. He was successful in clearing himself of this charge, but the fact that it was brought shows the extent to which the Swedish clergy officiated among the English.

A number of affidavits were sent to Sweden to help him in his difficulties. One of these signed by Archibald Cummings, rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia, and commissary for the bishop of London in Pennsylvania, pointed out that it was much to the credit of Hesselius that he took pity upon English churchmen and served them, thus keeping them from infidelity and "enthusiasm."²² The Pennsylvania clergy as a group likewise joined in sending to Sweden a letter in support of Hesselius. Dated the fifteenth of October, the letter recounted that the Swedish clergy were in the employ of the Society to fill vacant English pulpits and that he had done so without neglecting the Swedes. This letter was signed by Cummings, George Ross, Robert Weyman (Oxford), William Becket, Walter Hacket, and Richard Backhouse (Chester).²³

²¹Acrelius, *op. cit.*, p. 282.

²²*Records of Holy Trinity, etc.*, p. 327.

²³*Ibid.*

After being reinstated, Hesselius seems to have decided that he would fare with less difficulties in his home country, where ecclesiastical matters were more stable and where dissenters were unknown; accordingly he left Christina Church late in 1731 or early in 1732, and was succeeded by John Eneberg on the tenth Sunday after Trinity, 1733. While most of the names appearing in the baptisms, marriages and burials for his time are naturally Swedish, it is interesting that there are but seven marriages in the year 1733, and he makes the notation after them: "All these are English."²⁴ The register also has several notes showing that George Ross officiated occasionally in the absence of Pastor Eneberg.

The Rev. John Eneberg had been in this country some years before becoming pastor of Christina congregation. He had been ordained in London by Magister Norborg, pastor of the Swedish Church there, and while he did not have episcopal ordination, he was fully accepted as a minister of the Swedish Church. When he first came to this country, he preached to German congregations; then, when Lidman returned to Sweden, he served as locum tenens at Wicacoa. On the fourth of July, 1732, he was appointed pastor of Christina by the King of Sweden.²⁵

We have seen that he performed a number of English marriages at Christina, but Acrelius says that Eneberg found it difficult to preach in English and so did very little of it. The marriages can be accounted for by reason of the financial return.²⁶

Many important things happened during Eneberg's time, including the decision to lay out the town of Wilmington on the church glebe, but inasmuch as they have no influence upon the relations between the English and Swedish Churches, they lie outside the scope of this chapter. The Rev. Peter Tranberg, who came to Christina on the first of August, 1742, to succeed Eneberg, reversed Eneberg's policy with regard to the English. Immediately after his induction he asked the congregation how far they wanted to go with respect to English services and it was agreed that Swedish should be the language for the morning service, but that the afternoon service should be in English, ". . . inasmuch as they now had so many English around them who would otherwise have no church service, and some who did not understand Swedish were descendants of Swedes . . ."²⁷

²⁴*Records of Holy Trinity, etc.*, p. 358.

²⁵Acrelius, *op. cit.*, p. 288.

²⁶"The remainder of the salary comes from burials, which are six shillings, and English marriages, which pay twelve shillings. The last named are not only an uncertain income, but also disagreeable, in consequence of various troubles which follow them." Acrelius, *op. cit.*, p. 261.

²⁷*Ibid.*

Tranberg also officiated and administered the communion to the German congregation at Lancaster, as well as officiating at St. James', Folk's Manor,²⁸ Marlborough, and Concord. He attended the English churches about once a month, sometimes on Sunday, but more frequently on week-days. When he died on November 8, 1748, his burial sermons were in both English and Swedish, George Ross of New Castle delivering the former and Pastor Gabriel Haesman the latter.

The Rev. Israel Acrelius was appointed in his place, and was made provost of the Swedish clergy along the Delaware. He arrived in July 1749, and the people of Christina apologized for the poverty of their Swedish. So far was the mother tongue forgotten that Acrelius kept the parish record in English. Acrelius began his ministry by preaching only in Swedish, but such was the force of his predecessors' tradition that he was forced to hold services in English at Christina Church, with the result that people came from the neighborhood of St. James', New London, Marlborough, Marcus Hook, and other sections of the country. This influx of English people caused the older Swedes to grumble that they were being forced out of their own church, and a solution was finally worked out whereby Acrelius held Swedish services in Christina Church every week, with only a monthly sermon in English—in summer before vespers and in winter before high mass.²⁹ The elders of the Swedish congregation agreed to pay his expenses in traveling to the English congregations at other times for services so that the English would have no occasion to disrupt the Swedish schedule of services in Christina Church.

As early as 1733 the German Lutherans about Philadelphia attempted a union with the Swedish churches, but this was disrupted by the coming of Pastor Henry Melchior Muhlenberg. Again in 1744 this attempt was revived, and this time failed because the Swedes were unwilling to give up their "usages," because the Swedish pastors were now in the minority and would be outvoted in meeting, and because the Swedes had the land and property. The lack of union did not prevent them from fraternizing. While Acrelius was pastor of Christina Church, he recorded a joint meeting of the Germans and Swedes:

On the 4th Sunday after Easter, May 12th, a meeting of clergy was held at Christina, when there were present: Mr. Senior, minister of the German Lutherans; Herr Henrie Muhlenberg, Herr Matthias Heinzelman, pastor extraordinary of the German Church in Philadelphia; the pastor of Wicacoe, Magister Olof Parlin; pastor in Racoon and Pensneck, Herr Eric Unanders,

²⁸Also called Fagg's Manor and Fogg's Manor.

²⁹Acrelius, *op. cit.*, p. 304-5.

but Herr John Abraham Lidenius preacher extraordinary in our communion was not present, but remained at home up at Mananthanim, although he was given notice of the meeting in good time and this was the sixth time in succession that he had been absent from our yearly meeting.

We received the Lord's Supper together on Sunday. On Monday the Germans held Divine service for the German people who lived in the vicinity and administered the Lord's Supper. The remainder of our meeting was spent in conversation on various matters of conscience which often come up in all our congregations.³⁰

Shortly thereafter Acrelius and Thomas Thomson, missionary at Chester, had an exchange of letters over the former's ministrations at Marcus Hook. Thomson accused Acrelius of encroaching on his parish, but after an exchange of letters Acrelius suggested that this cause for difference would be removed, and Thomson apologized for the manner in which he wrote to Acrelius.³¹ Acrelius returned to Sweden in 1755 and was succeeded by Eric Unander.

On the feast of the Annunciation, 1757, the pastor and congregation of Christina Church agreed that he should deliver an English sermon once a month in that church. One finds few references to English-Swedish collaboration under Unander except that the parish meeting of November 13, 1758 agreed that the old practice with respect to burials should be continued, i. e. that none should be buried in the churchyard except members of the Swedish or English churches.³² On November 30, 1759, after residing eleven years in Wilmington, Pastor Unander was granted citizenship by James Hamilton, the lieutenant governor.³³ Nevertheless, in spite of the paucity of information, he must have been active among the English churches for on his return to Sweden a number of letters recommended him to the Venerable Society.³⁴

Andrew Borell was appointed to succeed Pastor Unander and was also appointed provost. Probably because he was ill most of the seven years of his ministry,³⁵ records concerning him are scarce. Even the *Records* of Christina Church have a torn page at this point which may or may not have had some material concerning him. The record of

³⁰*Records of Holy Trinity, etc.*, p. 455.

³¹*Ibid.*, pp. 458-461.

³²*Ibid.*, p. 438.

³³*Penna. Archives*, Ser. I, Vol. 3, p. 692.

³⁴*S. P. G. MSS*, B, 21, #301.

Ibid., #302.

Ibid., #303.

³⁵1760-67.

baptisms and marriages is quite complete, however. He was buried in the churchyard on April 5, 1768.³⁶

Lars (or Lawrence) Girelius was appointed to succeed him, and took office on the 21st of October, 1767. He was the last Swedish pastor of the church.

Continuing the practice of preaching and catechizing in English, Girelius distributed a number of books supplied by the S. P. G. During the years 1776 and 1777 two companies of militia soldiers were quartered in the church, and services were discontinued until September 8th of the latter year, when Pastor Girelius was ordered by the British colonel, McDonald, to preach for the troops.³⁷

FIRST ANGLICAN RECTOR OF OLD SWEDES' CHURCH

Bishop Lee in his *Our Centenary* states that Charles Henry Wharton was the first Anglican rector of Trinity Church, and this statement is repeated in Dr. Pennington's "The Diocese of Delaware,"³⁸ but there appears to be no record to substantiate this statement. A careful reading of Bishop Lee shows that he was aware that his essay was based upon insufficient source material. However, because his work has been used as a reference in more modern writings, the records of Old Swedes' Church, which shows just the manner in which that congregation became a member of the Episcopal Church and began to be served by priests in Anglican orders, will be followed closely.

Pastor Girelius announced to his congregation on April 5, 1779, that he had permission to return to Sweden and that he intended to do so.³⁹ On the next day he sold much of his furniture and household furnishings. He intended to return to Sweden, he said, because money in this country had so far depreciated that he could no longer support his family on the stipend provided by the congregation. Within a few days the churchwardens attempted to persuade him to remain with them, and he promised to do so if they would provide a stipend of £200. Apparently this was promised, but on April 1, 1782, he again announced to the congregation that he had renewed permission to return to Sweden, and informed them of the new arrangements made by the king with regard to the supplying of the missions. The new regulations placed upon the congregations the responsibility of providing missionaries with traveling expenses between this country

³⁶*Records of Holy Trinity, etc.*, pp. 483-4.

³⁷*Ibid.*

³⁸*Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, V: 1, 4.

³⁹*Records of Holy Trinity, etc.*, p. 510.

and London, the king assuming the responsibility only between London and Sweden. The salary for a provost was abrogated.

On April 18th of that year, the vestry met to decide what to do concerning these matters and expressed the hope that Girelius would not leave them, but that if he did, they would provide the passage money for a new man whom they hoped would be tolerably conversant in English. They also set the new pastor's stipend at £100.

May sixth was the annual election of vestrymen and Girelius was recorded as rector. Again on May 2, 1785, at the annual election he was listed as rector, and read a new letter from the archbishop giving the missionaries permission to return to Sweden. This caused the congregation to seek a change in their charter from the state "thought necessary on account of the altered condition of the congregation in regard to calling a minister, etc."⁴⁰ This resulted in an amendment to the church's colonial charter of 1759, which was passed by the assembly on February 7, 1795. The principal provisions were:

1. The name of the corporation was changed from "the Swedes Lutheran Church, called Trinity Church in the Borough of Wilmington" to "the vestry-men and churchwardens of the Swedes Lutheran Church called Trinity Church in the Borough of Wilmington."
2. A rotating system of electing vestrymen.
3. The vestrymen and churchwardens were authorized to choose and appoint for one year, and from year to year, a pastor or preacher provided he be ordained according to the Lutheran or Episcopal Church and hold the faith of the same.⁴¹
4. The preacher or minister was given membership in the vestry, but only with regard to matters of the discipline and spiritual concerns of the church.
5. Certain amendments were added concerning sale of land to specified individuals.

Under the provisions of this charter the vestry was elected on March 2, 1795, and five days later met and organized themselves as provided by the charter. They then elected the Rev. Joseph Clarkson as their pastor for the coming year. Clarkson had been the first person to be ordained in 1787 by Bishop White, and was the first assistant in Anglican orders to serve under Dr. Nicholas Collin, last Swedish pastor of Gloria Dei (Wicacoa) Church in Philadelphia. He served under Dr. Collin from 1786 to 1792.⁴² In 1792 he began to officiate at

⁴⁰*Records of Holy Trinity, etc.*, p. 518.

⁴¹This follows a similar charter given Wicacoa Church by the Pennsylvania Legislature in 1787. From that time onward, Dr. Collin always had an assistant in Anglican orders.

⁴²Hotchkin, S. F., *Early Clergy of Pennsylvania and Delaware*, p. 65.

Holy Trinity Church and continued until 1799.⁴³ His election at this time was merely in conformity with the new charter and was repeated annually.

There is no notice of Charles Henry Wharton having been appointed to serve the congregation. After his resignation from New Castle he did live in Wilmington, and he did perform occasional offices in Old Swedes, but he was not a regular appointee. For example, in August, 1786, we find this record of baptism:

Peter Abraham, born July 30th, baptized 9th, instant by Rev Charles H. Wharton, D. D., parents, Lawrence and Christina Girelius. This little child was very sick, being born with the whooping cough, and died soon after, the 17th, and was buried in Christina Church the 18th, in the afternoon by Dr. Wharton.

It is quite obvious that this is one case in which he officiated, just as the next child was baptized by Dr. Collin, but he was certainly not in charge of the congregation. Wharton also baptized Charles Jacob Girelius on July 29, 1790. In the records for May, 1792, there is this notation:

John, born September 21, 1792, baptized some short time after by the Rev. Dr. Wharton, Dr. Girelius being gone, and now recorded by Rev. Mr. Clarkson at the desire of the parents, who are Hance Naff, jr. and Mary.

This gives us the approximate date of Dr. Girelius' removal and, together with one other baptism, shows that Dr. Wharton did give an occasional service, but with the exception of six children of John and Alce (*sic*) Vandever whom he baptized, all the baptisms from September 25, 1792, until 1797, are by the Rev. Joseph Clarkson.

In the case of the marriages we find Dr. Wharton's name appearing on November 5, 1786, when he himself was married to Miss Mary Weems, but it is the only example of his name appearing in the register.⁴⁴ Beginning with the year 1767, the marriages are headed "Marriages by Girelius,"⁴⁵ and there is no change in the heading until we find "Marriages which have been Celebrated in This State (Delaware) Agreeably to the Laws of the same Respecting Marriages, by Joseph Clarkson."⁴⁶ These begin with December 30, 1792. No marriages are recorded from May 4, 1791, which is the last performed by

⁴³Hotchkin, *op. cit.*, p. 67; *Records of Holy Trinity Church, etc.*, p. 526; Burr, *op. cit.*, p. 128; Clay, *Annals of the Swedes*, p. 175. Clarkson died January 25, 1830.

⁴⁴*Records of Holy Trinity, etc.*, p. 760.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, p. 726.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, p. 765.

Dr. Girelius. This would allow only the period between May, 1791, and May, 1792, for Wharton to have been in charge of the congregation.

Wharton, however, was very active in the affairs which went to shape the new Church in America. If he had been in charge of Holy Trinity, it seems to me that he would have been present at the diocesan convention which met in Dover, December 3, 1791, but his name does not appear among those present.⁴⁷ Joseph Clarkson was at the convention which met in Dover, December 18, 1792, and is listed as rector of Trinity Church. He gave parochial statistics for the period from September 25, 1792, until the date of the convention. It may be presumed that he became rector of Holy Trinity on that date. There is no such evidence for Wharton.⁴⁸

AMALGAMATION OF THE SWEDISH AND EPISCOPAL CHURCHES

Beginning as representatives of two National Churches, the clergy of the Church of Sweden and the Church of England were admonished by their superiors to fraternize as far as possible. This resulted in actual intercommunion, and as the Swedish population was assimilated by the more numerous English group, the Swedish clergy were forced to conduct services in English as well as Swedish. Swedish customs gradually gave way to English customs, and this was expedited by the fact that the Swedish clergy were paid from England for holding English services.

The Revolution caused the English (now the Episcopal) Church to break with the mother Church. Both lack of new migrations, and the fact that the Church was no longer a national Church, caused the King of Sweden to lose interest in a group, which, while it owed its origin to Sweden, had by that time become completely Americanized. It was therefore natural that the five Swedish churches should join in some larger organization. Whether the Swedish churches were to combine with the Lutheran churches of German extraction or with the Episcopal Church was a matter of chance, rather than of planning. The Swedesboro Church in New Jersey did call a German Lutheran pastor, but he declined the position. So long as Dr. Nicholas Collin lived the actual amalgamation was somewhat retarded, and it was

⁴⁷Clergy without congregations were not given seats in early conventions.

⁴⁸Dr. Jehu Curtis Clay, a Swedish descendant, and at one time assistant to Dr. Nicholas Collin, does not mention Wharton in his discussion of Christina Church. He was the first Anglican rector of Wicacoa. Clarkson is listed as the successor to Girelius. Vide *Annals of the Swedes*. R. Anderson, *Banebrydere for Kirken in Amerika, Kirkhistousk Bidrag* (Church Mission House, 1923) agrees that Clarkson succeeded Girelius, p. 22; also Ryden, *op. cit.*

guided in the direction of the Episcopal Church by the fact that he had Anglican assistants, but there is no evidence to show from the records of the Christina Church that the congregation was motivated by any particular doctrine regarding Church order.

Until 1816 Holy Trinity congregation had no lay delegates in the conventions of the diocese of Delaware. It was represented in them by its Anglican pastor who made his statistical report each year, and when the lay delegation appeared in 1816 no special notice was taken of them. Bishop Thomas J. Claggett of Maryland performed the first Anglican confirmation service in Old Swedes' Church, but it was entirely a congregational matter—arranged for by the congregation which paid the expenses of his visitation.

The Swedish-English movement was one based upon the Erastian conception of state or national churches. This was the accepted mode of thought among the vast majority of people who thought at all about religion in the eighteenth century. It was a habit of thought carried over from a former age in which it was believed that heresy and schism in ecclesiastical affairs necessarily meant treason and rebellion in national matters, and, following Hooker, that the State and the Church were but two aspects of one nationality.

II. RELATIONS WITH THE METHODISTS

The eighteenth century saw the rise of two other points of view, both of which were originally conceived of as theological rather than schismatical. These were deism and enthusiasm. The former, being negative, could more easily be comprehended within the bounds of a national church for it merely required a rationalization of the recognized formularies. Erastianism was its mainstay.

Enthusiasm or pietism had the opposite reaction. The ideal was the revitalizing and reinvigoration of the old church. It was a growth which attached itself to nearly all the older brands of Christianity about the same time, but in almost every case its adherents, after a time, despaired of ever bringing the old church up to their level of perfection and they went into schism. Congregationalism, Presbyterianism, and Lutheranism, all divided into "Old Lights" and "New Lights," "Old Side" and "New Side," "Orthodox" and "pietist." Within Anglicanism this resulted in the Methodist schism.

The Rev. George Whitefield and Francis Asbury were two of the important leaders of the Methodist movement in America, and each did much of his important work within the confines of the Three Lower Counties upon Delaware.

WHITEFIELD AND THE CLERGY IN DELAWARE

Unlike William Penn and Count Zinzendorf, leaders in comparable movements, Whitefield had none of the advantages of birth, but he had a large and imposing physique and a mastery of the dramatic both in and out of the pulpit, as well as a gift of a highly emotional nature. As an undergraduate at Oxford, 1732-6, he became a member of that group which was derisively known by other undergraduates as the "Holy Club," a group of young men centering around Charles Wesley who exercised themselves in reading devotional literature, performing acts of charity, and receiving the Holy Communion weekly.

Some indication of his emotional nature may be seen in that he experienced his conversion several years before either of the Wesleys felt the "burning within" them. He was ordained deacon by the bishop of Gloucester on June 20, 1736, and immediately attracted large crowds by his forceful preaching, but as yet there was little of the element of justification by faith only in his sermons. Following in the footsteps of the Wesleys, he served as missionary to Georgia for a short time, returning to England for priest's orders on January 14, 1738-9. In all he crossed the Atlantic seven times.

Returning to America, he arrived in Lewes on October 30, 1739.⁴⁹ Here he preached in St. Peter's Church, and then journeyed to New Castle where he preached also. Arriving in Philadelphia, he was favorably received by Commissary Cummings of Christ Church. This first acceptance of him by Ross and Becket was soon changed into antagonism.

Unlike most of the Anglican clergy of the time, Whitefield's reading had been in devotional literature, rather than in strict theology, "systems of doctrine," as he called it. This pietistic and mystical literature only inflamed his own emotional nature the more.⁵⁰ The result was that the Anglican congregations were largely unprepared for his message, and while it did not fall on deaf ears, it was strange doctrine.

The dissenting congregations had been prepared for such messages. Jonathan Edwards, Theodore J. Frelinghuysen, Gilbert Tennent, and a host of others, had all prepared the way for Whitefield, and finding both clergy and people unstirred by his message he turned away from the Church. Not that he deliberately cut himself off from

⁴⁹Gewehr, Wesley M., *The Great Awakening in Virginia, 1740-1790* (Durham, N. C.; Duke Univ. Press, n. d.).

⁵⁰Maxson, Charles H., *The Great Awakening in the Middle Colonies* (Chicago; Univ. of Chicago Press, 1920), p. 5. See also Frederick B. Tolles, "Quietism Versus Enthusiasm" in *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LXIX:1 (January 1945) pp. 26-50.

the Church, but rather that he more and more turned to the place where he could bask in the warmth of much praise. George Ross wrote that his congregation had paid little attention to Whitefield, but that the Presbyterian Church in New Castle had a schism.⁵¹

Rev'd. Sir,

As to my proper charge, the Church in this place is in a state of peace and unity. While the flame of dissention scorches the neighboring Meetings. This they owe to their fondness of that wild enthusiast, Whitefield, who, when he found he could not sow his tares in the field of our Church so plentifully as elsewhere, recommended a set of men among the Presbyterians as unruly as himself, as the only Ministers fit to be heard and followed. And they have answered his purpose by raising a New Sect from among themselves, more angry and more fierce than any that has hitherto sprung from the unhappy separation.

I have a few of Whitefields admirers among my Flock, but gentle lenitives have kept them as yet from breaking thro' the fold. I live in good harmony with the Dissenters in this Village; the moderate part of them frequent my Church with as much freedom as they are wont to resort with their own meetings.

Your most Obedient Servant,
George Ross.

This calm attitude of August 4, 1741, is quite a change from his earlier letter of August 1, 1740. Most probably as Ross saw that Whitefield's preaching was to weaken the dissenters rather than the Church, he became more philosophical in his attitude toward it.

On August first, 1740 he had written:

. . . The Church here enjoys a profound Calm, after being threatened with a meer tempest of Enthusiasm. We felt this storm in this village in its decline when its fury was almost spent. I was never so much astonished, as when I saw the fluctuating humor of our people. The sea roared indeed & the waves rose so exceeding high that to face them was present shipwreck. I stood amazed and dreaded the consequence of so unexpected a shock, but he that thus stirred up the people and inflamed them against the missionaries with the most opprobrious language, I mean the mischievous Mr. Whitefield, lost himself and ruined his credit with the thinking people by his malicious letters against archbishop Tillotson & by his weak but ill natured attack, upon the author of the *Whole Duty of Man*. The storm is not quite allayed at Philadelphia where I bore my testimony in a sermon I preached against the proceedings of this indefatigable imposter in Gown and cassock. When he could or would not stay, any

⁵¹Perry, *Collections*, V, 84-5.

longer in these quarters, he deputed 2 or 3 Fiery Presbyterians to purchase his game, whose assiduity terminated at last in distraction in some, in chains in others, despair in some, *in extremo articulo*, and laying violent hands on themselves in others. Those were some of the sad effects of what the party call convictions; but in Truth diabolical possessions. The main incendiary 'tis expected will return again into these parts 'ere long; but his principles, pride and spite, are so fully discovered, and particularly his amassing such vast sums & therewith supporting a company of young fellows and gadding young women who follow him to Georgia, instead of applying the charities for his little orphan house, to their proper end, has given so general an offence, that I am persuaded his conduct in this point will sink his credit, as fast as his plausible talent of harangueing the Populace has raised him in the opinion of the Giddy multitude. Some of my congregation became unsettled among others in running and flocking after our new Preacher, so that when the Sacrament was celebrated here in those hurrying days, I had not above half of my usual number of communicants, but, thanks be to God, the snare wherein they were catch'd is broken and they are happily delivered and now live in peace and love. . . .⁵²

William Becket in Lewes likewise had his troubles with Whitefield, and likewise was unsparing in his comments upon Whitefield's activities. Writing to the Venerable Society on March 4, 1740-1, he said:

. . . The State of my Parish is somewhat changed from what it once was, Tho' my Churches are as full on Sunday's as ever Mr Whitefield having rambled over North America the last years, has with his Enthusiastic Notions very much disturb'd the minds of Abundance of weak but perhaps well minded People by endeavoring to root out the respect which they had entertained for the Church Service &c. He has Encouraged his Tools to set up Religious Societies as he calls them wherever he can. There is one at Lewes composed of some Ch. People some Presbyterians & some Quakers, who meet twice a week, And many people are perpetually wrangling & disputing about Religion, I found his Industry this way had the same effect in many places where I preached last Fall, for I traveled in Oct & Novr Last above 500 Miles & it was very visible in most places that where good seed had been Sown he had scattered Tares, so that what between Infidelity and Lukewarmness & Enthusiasm you may easily guess at the fluctuating State of Religion in many parts of our Colonies. I got but one copy of our Bishop's last excellent Pastoral Letter, but could heartily wish that I had some to distribute. The Missionaries however are resolved to attend on their respective Charges carefully, and to wait the Event of these things with Xn

⁵²Perry, *Collections*, II, 205.

patience We at first enertained him as a Bror. But when we perceived his design & looked upon him with an air of Indifferency, he forsook both our Church & the Liturgy & has been a Field Preacher here as in England every since.⁵³

Whitefield made a second circuit through the Lower Counties in April and May, 1740, sailing down the Delaware on his new sloop en route to Georgia. He preached at New Castle on December 1, 1739,⁵⁴ and on April 6th and 13th he preached in Immanuel Church, the rector being ill.⁵⁵ On April 14th he preached in Wilmington where he had friendly associations with Tennant, the former Anglican turned Presbyterian, who was now preacher at the Whiteclay Presbyterian Church, and with Morgan Edwards, the Baptist preacher of Pencader Hundred.⁵⁶ On May 19, 1740, he again preached in New Castle,⁵⁷ and on May 24th in Lewes.⁵⁸ As a result of this latter visit Becket wrote him on June 9, 1740:

Revd. Sir.—I rec'd your Pacquet & the Money & I thank you for your Printed Pamphlets with the same degree of Sincerity which induced me to thank you for your Sermon. I am sorry Mr Grant pays his Debts with so ill a grace, to pay a debt and yet to use a reviling language at the same time little . . . of a Xn Spirit. As to his accusing me before your Tribunal of Drunkeness I not only deny the Charge in General but his in a most particular manner. He is an open Lyar and I do assure you that I never drank a Bottle of Wine nor a Bowl of Punch (yt wicked Liquor as you term it) in company with him nor with any such paltry fellows in my Life, And as to himself I do certifie to you that he never was a common Drunkard to my Knowl' only he has a mind to creep up your Revd sleeve. But in these slanderous cases I always judge yt the Receiver is as bad as the Thief I heard a scandaous Storey of you in Lewes a fortnight before you arrived here publickly asserted yt you had kept a Girl in Man's Cloathes during your Travels to sleep with you & now Shipt her off for England when you were Blown. This story was supprest'd as much as lay in us, by me & the rest of the Company out of Xn Charity a Doctrine wch I find you leave out of all your Sermons I have now done with being serious with you. But now to enter into the Rediculous part of your Doctrine & Conduct Your fathering Adams Sin upon us, with your damning infants of a Span long, your accusing the Justice & Mercy of God by absolute Predestination. Your Inward feelings, wch are no evidence to

⁵³Turner, *op. cit.*, pp. 212-3.

⁵⁴Tyerman, L., *Rev. George Whitefield*, London, Hodder & Stoughton, 1876, I: 339.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, p. 371.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 371-2.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, I: 390-1.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*

any one (besides your self) your Faith without good works, your want of Xn Charity & damning like a Pirate (in the Xn Ch), all but yourself & your crazy followers. Your preaching against Xn Morality, your leaving my Church to go & preach in an open Balcony and to act the Mountebank where there was no occasion for it even after you had thrown about you Hell & Damnation Fire & Brimstone enough to have burnt a Wooden Frame As these and many more things were ridiculous, so I pardon you As to your empty censures, kicking about the Revd Dust of Dr Tillotson above 40 years after his decease & your open abuses of our Revd Bishop yet now is. These things look like the highest Impudence. I conclude that Enthusiasm is a Sort of Wild fire yt leads men into Ponds & Ditches and for all yt the muddy fellows think they are in a good Road It will make men censorious & busy bodies and always disturbers of the public peace and tranquility. But this takes only with the Mob not by any means with men of a good understanding However when your beard is grown and your judgm't settled I still hope you will burn your own works rather than Tillotsons & this I assure you will highly oblige.

Sr Yor Hum Servt

June 9, 1740

Wm Becket

P. S.—I cannot think you intended me an act of civility by yor Papers & Letters since you boasted to Capt. Howell & your Crew concerning what you wrote to me &c. I rather take it to be the effect of your Spiritual Pride & Self conceitedness.⁵⁹

With such opposition from the missionaries themselves, it is not surprising that Whitefield tried to gain adherents for his position within the membership of the S. P. G. On November 30, 1740, he wrote to Dr. Philip Bearcroft, secretary to the Society, "It is too evident that most of them are corrupt in their principles and immoral in their practices . . ."⁶⁰ We shall see that these terms took on a particular party meaning eventually, for the Methodists soon took to calling any Church of England clergyman corrupt and immoral if he had not experienced a Methodist conversion, but from the context it is not clear in which manner Whitefield is using the phrase—whether actually or spiritually.

This emotionally-induced conversion was the crux of the whole matter, for Whitefield and his followers would admit no one to be a proper Christian, regardless of belief or of the reception of sacramental grace, until he had been "converted," as they defined that term. Conversions were not limited to churchmen, but were also found among Presbyterians, Quakers, Baptists and the unbaptized. The

⁵⁹Tyerman, L., *Rev. George Whitefield*, London, Hodder & Stoughton, 1876, p. 213-4.

⁶⁰*Collections of the Protestant Episcopal Historical Society* 1851, p. 129.

Methodist societies crossed all the bounds of ordinary church membership. Becket, writing to Governor Thomas on January 2, 1741, speaks of this:

Tho' my Churches are full as ever Yet Mr. Whitefield has dropt some of his Enthusiastic Venom at Lewes I have not been there this fortnight the Weather is so bad. But they have set up a Society in my absence I ask'd the man that told me this what was the meaning of a Society. He told me they were to meet to sing Psalms & Hymns &c twice a week. There is no harm in the Affair, if there by no counter plot. But I cannot forbear suspecting that Whitefield & Tools have laid Schemes all over America, to draw people to dislike of our Church Doctrine Discipline & Government But Sr. whatever Enthusiasts do or endeavor to do let us stand fast to the Constitution convey'd down to us from our Forefathers both in Church & State. Let us not tear it to pieces byt endeavor each Man in his Station to Suport it. . . .⁶¹

Although we have this evidence of the organization of a society in Delaware as a result of Whitefield's preaching, the evidence is not repeated for thirty years. Possibly there were other such societies established, but in all probability they died out before the new Methodist mission was sent out by John Wesley, for Whitefield's influence depended very largely upon his gifts as a preacher. He seems to have had little of the gift of organization which we find in John Wesley.

About 1768⁶² Robert Strawbridge, an Irish immigrant who had preached in his native land, began preaching in Baltimore. Like all Methodist preachers of the day, he was a great traveler and soon extended his work to Delaware. Shortly thereafter John King came from London, and, although he had no credentials from Wesley, after a trial sermon he was licensed by Joseph Pilmoor (later called "Pilmore") and sent to Wilmington, but soon traveled on to Baltimore and points south. Not until the arrival of Francis Asbury were regular Methodist circuits set up within the bounds of the state.

RELATIONS BETWEEN ASBURY AND DELAWARE CHURCHMEN

Asbury at first had his difficulties with the clergy of the Church. He records in his *Journal* that Samuel Magaw came to him on one

⁶¹Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

⁶²There is quite a controversy among students of Methodist history as to the exact date. Some date the beginnings of Strawbridge's efforts as early as 1762, others date it as late as 1769. I have given the date which seems to me to have the greatest weight of authority.

of his first visits to Kent County and asked by what authority Asbury preached there, and Asbury answered that he was one of Mr. Wesley's preachers.⁶³ Magaw insisted that he alone had the cure of souls in that place, and after an exchange of words, Asbury began preaching to quite a crowd which had gathered; Magaw retired from the scene.⁶⁴

After this first bad beginning, the relations between Asbury and the churchmen in Delaware improved, probably because the latter saw that Asbury was determined that the Methodists should not administer the sacraments but should resort to the Church for baptism and communion. The minutes of the Philadelphia meeting of June, 1773, recorded:

1. Every preacher who acts in connection with Mr Wesley and the brethren who labour in America, is strictly to avoid administering the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's supper.
2. All the people among whom we labour to be earnestly exhorted to attend the church, and to receive the ordinances there. . .⁶⁵

Asbury was as decided as John Wesley himself concerning the propriety of separating from the Church:

"I received the minutes of the Virginia Conference, by which I learn the preachers there have been effecting a lame separation from the Episcopal Church, that will last about one year. I pity them, that Satan has a desire to have us, that he may sift us like wheat." ⁶⁶

Because of Wesley's unfortunate attitude toward the American Revolution, his preachers were generally considered torys and suspected of treasonable activities against the American patriots. No state oaths of allegiance were required in Delaware, and Asbury crossed into this state from Maryland on March 25, 1778, lodging at the home of Judge Thomas White, chief justice of the court of common pleas, in Kent County, but did not begin to preach until May 19th.⁶⁷ From this time onward Methodism began to grow and take hold of Delaware people, but there is nothing in Asbury's *Journal* to show that he felt any opposition to the Church or churchmen, or that they offered any resistance to him. On August 3, 1779, he recorded:

⁶³It is interesting to observe that throughout his *Journal* whenever speaking of a priest of the Church of England he says "Mr. McGaw," or "Mr. Jarratt." When speaking of one of the Methodist preachers, he merely calls them by both names, as "Freeborn Garretson."

⁶⁴Asbury, Francis, *Journal* (N. Y.: Land & Scott, III vols.) I: 55.

⁶⁵Buckley, J. M., *A History of the Methodists in the United States* (N. Y.: Church Lit. Co., 1896) p. 140.

⁶⁶*Journal*, June 30, 1779.

⁶⁷*Ibid.*, under these dates.

In the morning⁶⁸ the rain continues; all things look gloomy. We appointed to meet at nine, if clear, if not, at twelve o'clock. About twelve it cleared away, without such visible tokens as sometimes appear. We went to the arbor it covers three or four hundred people. It is possible we had six or seven hundred people each day, from Sussex, Somerset, Queen Anne, Caroline, Kent, Newcastle, and Philadelphia. I preached on Psa. 126.3-6 and was greatly led out; God was with us. The rain prevented Mr. McGaw's attendance.⁶⁸

"Mr. McGaw" was not always absent, however, for on October 31, 1779, Asbury records:

"We all went to church, preachers and people, and received the sacrament. Messrs. Thorn, O'Neal,⁶⁹ and McGaw were present. Mr O'Neal preached an affecting passion sermon, after the Lord's Supper Mr. McGaw preached an excellent sermon. At night I preached in the barn, on 'He that saith he abideth⁷⁰ in him ought himself so to walk, even as he walked.' "

The next quarterly meeting was held in Edward White's barn and the three clergy attended "with great friendship." On November second "We had a close conversation with the clergy, who informed themselves of our rules, and were willing to give us all the assistance they could by word and deed."

Asbury was convinced of the necessity of the episcopal as opposed to the presbyterian ordination,⁷⁰ and this probably accounts for the favorable reception given him by Magaw and Thorne whom he visited a number of times.⁷¹ Asbury was trying to stem a tide which was too great for him. Already the Virginia Methodists were objecting to receiving the sacraments from "unconverted" clergy, and this situation distressed Asbury greatly:

" . . . Our zealous dissenting brethren are for turning⁷² all out of the society who will not submit to their administration. I find the spirit of separation grows among them, and fear that it will generate malevolence, and evil speaking; after all my labor to unite the Protestant Episcopal ministry to us, they say, 'We don't want your unconverted ministers; the people will not receive them.' I expect to turn out shortly among them, and fear a separation will be unavoidable; I am determined, if we⁷³ cannot save all, to save a part.' "⁷²

⁶⁸*Journal*, June 30, 1779.

⁶⁹This must have been Hugh Neill, who was at this time in Queen Anne County, Maryland.

⁷⁰*Journal*, Sept. 10, 1779.

⁷¹"I spent the evening with Mr Thorn, an Episcopal minister," *Journal*, Sept. 30, 1779; "Spent a night with Mr McGaw; had great satisfaction conversing with him relative to his having a closer connection with us," February 29, 1780.

⁷²*Journal*, Nov. 13, 1779.

Asbury continued this close connection with the Church, and Magaw, Thorne, and Neill seem to have given them the closest cooperation. "I attended the communion; the communicants increase daily, for people get awakened by us; when this is the case, they go to the Lord's Supper."⁷³

The quarterly meeting of the society was held at Barratt's Chapel on April 18, 1780. Mr. Magaw read the prayers, and Hugh Neill preached on "Feed my sheep," following the love feast. The next day Asbury recorded that the Emorys ". . . were brought off their prejudice by Mr. Magaw's preaching in the chapel; they and their family connections promise fair." At this conference one of the most strongly debated points was the Virginia Methodists, who informed them that the Virginians were administering the sacraments and ordaining ministers. Under Asbury's influence the conference agreed that union would be continued with the Virginians only if the latter would ordain no more ministers, would restrict the extent of their territory, would accept delegates from this conference into theirs, would "not presume to administer the sacraments where there is a decent Episcopal minister," and would agree to attend a union conference to be held in the near future.⁷⁴

The names of the preachers appointed for Kent and Sussex appear in his *Journal* as appointments of the quarterly conference held on November 6, 1780. Three were appointed for Kent County, two for Dover, and three for Sussex County. Herein lies the answer to the question, "Why did the Methodists get such a hold on Delaware after the Revolution?" In this same area there were but three priests. It is obvious that eight men, even with inferior education, could touch more people than three. One of these preachers appointed for Sussex was Samuel Roe. When the final separation between the Church and the Methodists took place, we find Samuel Roe being ordained by

⁷³*Journal*, Mar. 26, 1780. "Called at the Rev. Mr. McGaw's; spent an hour, changed books and sentiments . . ." (*Ibid.* following day.)

⁷⁴*Journal*, April 25, 1780. The charge against the Anglican clergy as being so much more immoral than either the clergy of other churches or of the laity has been rather exploded of late. We cannot judge these men on the basis of twentieth century standards, nor should we accept without question the statements of those who censured the clergy in order to build up their own followings. Of the one hundred and twenty ministers known to have come to Virginia in the seventeenth century no more than ten percent have been shown to have any serious charge placed against them. See Edward L. Goodwin, *The Colonial Church in Virginia*, (Milwaukee, Morehouse Pub. Co., 1927) p. 81. See also G. M. Brydon, *The Virginia Magazine of History*, XXXII (July-October, 1924), pp. 218-36, 321-37; XXXIII (January, 1925), pp. 51-64. S. M. Mohler, *Commissary James Blair, Churchman, Educator and Politician of Colonial Virginia* (Ph. D. Thesis in U. of Chicago Lib.) p. 63 et seq. discusses this question also, and comes to the conclusion that while most of the Virginia clergy were not definitely immoral, they were second-rate in intellectual and spiritual values. Hardly a favorable verdict.

Bishop Seabury and succeeding Samuel Magaw as rector of Dover.⁷⁵ His death in 1791 cut short a promising career in a territory where he was well known and had served as a Methodist preacher. About this same time⁷⁶ Asbury and Magaw were working on a scheme for setting up an educational institution, and the plans had gone so far as the selection of an assistant for Dr. Magaw by the name of John Coleman, who was to assist in the school.⁷⁷ Since Dr. Magaw was elected rector of St. Paul's Church, Philadelphia, shortly thereafter, the scheme lost its Anglican approval. On December 10, 1781, Francis Asbury attended Thorne's church (and approved of the sermon) and, on the twenty-first of the following January, Magaw and Thorne administered the communion at Barratt's Chapel: "It was a gracious time, and I hope it will not be received in vain."⁷⁸

Throughout Asbury's *Journal* one notes how scrupulously he attempted to fulfill the directions and intentions of John Wesley concerning the work in America. It was chiefly for this reason that he opposed the separation of the Virginia conference from the Church. When, however, Wesley reversed his former policy and "ordained" Thomas Coke to the Methodist superintendency, Asbury yielded and withdrew his objections to separation.

THE SCHISM COMPLETED

Arriving in New York in 1784, Coke was well received by churchmen. In Philadelphia William White called upon him and he had the privilege of preaching in Episcopal churches. Upon his arrival in Delaware he was entertained by Judge Bassett, and then went on to Barratt's Chapel for the quarterly meeting. Here, on September 14th, Asbury came into the chapel during service (at which Magaw was present) and greeted Coke. Coke had set his heart upon separation from the Episcopal Church,⁷⁹ and plans were formulated for the organization of the Methodist Church. These plans were agreed upon in December of that year and in January of the following year the schism was completed.

In 1787, the American Methodist conference changed Coke's title to "bishop," and in 1791 he petitioned the bishops of the Episcopal Church to regularize this action by consecrating him and Asbury as

⁷⁵See Chapter III, on Kent Mission. Magaw was one of those who recommended Roe to Bishop Seabury for ordination.

⁷⁶November 25, 1780.

⁷⁷*Journal*, Nov. 25, 1780.

⁷⁸*Ibid.*, under this date. The school was organized and run by Coleman some years after Magaw's departure. See Powell, *Hist. Ed. in Del.*

⁷⁹See Stowe, W. H., *Life and Letters of Bishop White*, p. 117 ff.

bishops, with special jurisdiction over the Methodists, the latter to remain a separate body. When the House of Bishops presented this scheme to the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies in the General Convention of 1792, the latter "were astonished, and considered it altogether preposterous." "The bishops silently withdrew it."⁸⁰

Not all the early Methodists went into schism, however. Samuel Roe, whom we have mentioned, left Delaware at this time and became lay reader at Burlington, New Jersey. After ordination by Bishop Seabury he returned as rector of Dover. Joseph Pilmore, another early Methodist, after ordination became successor to Dr. Magaw at St. Paul's Church, Philadelphia.⁸¹

The Rev. Levi Heath, who had received Anglican orders in 1783 and 1784,⁸² and who came to Maryland in 1786 to take charge of Cokesbury College which had been founded by Coke and Asbury, refused to concur in the schism. In 1787 he became rector of St. John's parish, Baltimore and Harford Counties, Maryland; in 1789 he removed to St. Mary's Church, Burlington, New Jersey; in 1793 he resigned and in 1795 was rector of Emanuel and St. Peter's Churches in Washington and Fayette Counties, Pennsylvania; about 1800 he became rector of Norborne Parish, Berkeley County, Virginia, where he died about 1805 or 1806.

⁸⁰White's *Memoirs*, p. 196.

⁸¹"At a special ordination held in St. Paul's Church in Wallingford on 27th day of November, 1785 *Joseph Pilmore*, recommended by The Rev'd Mr Charles Wesley of London, the Rev'd Mr William Stringer of Barnet in England, the Rev'd Mr John Bowden of Norwalk, Connect. & Joseph Galloway, Esqr., late of Pennsylvania, was admitted *Deacon*, And

At a special Ordination held in the same Church on the 29th day of November, 1785, the above named *Joseph Pilmore* was ordered *Priest*." From "Bishop Seabury's Resigtry of Ordinations" in *Historical Magazine of the Episcopal Church*, XIII:50 (Mar., 1944). Can there be any significance in the fact that he was recommended by *Charles* rather than by *John* Wesley?

⁸²Heath was ordained deacon, June 29, 1783, and priest, October 18, 1784, both ordinations having been at the hands of the bishop of Hereford, England [New Jersey *Diocesan Journal*, 1790].

CHAPTER VI

SUPPORT OF THE CLERGY

“**L**AY not up for yourselves treasures upon earth where moth and rust doth corrupt and where thieves break through and steal,” is good theology, but the clergy, not only of colonial days but of today as well, are always quite sure that the “laborer is worthy of his hire.” The clergy of the colonial Church were not men of wealth, but often sons of clergy or second sons of landowners. Without doubt they were moved by the possibility of personal advancement as well as by the desire to spread the Gospel.

SALARY REGULATIONS OF THE S. P. G.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts¹ was established in order that congregations in those parts of the new world, which had no established church, might have a minister whether they could fully support him or not, although the Society expected that the congregations would contribute to their parson's support insofar as they were able. In a schedule for the payment of the military in New York, dated July 1, 1674, the chaplain was to be included at the rate of £121, 6, 8, per annum,² but the Society did not aim so high. Each new appointee was granted £20, the same which had been granted by the royal bounty before the formation of the Society.³ In addition to this he was granted £10 for a library, and £5 for books to be distributed among his parishioners.⁴ Jonathan Mayhew, the New England Congregational minister, very early complained about the £50 or £60 allowed for the stipends of the missionaries.⁵

With their stipend the Society was anxious that the clergy should not be extravagant, and enacted the following resolution as an instruction for their appointees:

¹Hereinafter called “the S. P. G.” or “the Society.”

²Chorley, E. C., “Beginnings of the Church in New York” in *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, XIII (March, 1944) p. 8.

³*Journal of the SPG*, June 15, 1705.

⁴*Standing Orders of the Society*, etc. VII: III, IV.

⁵Mayhew, Jonathon, *Observations on the Charter and Conduct of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*, etc. (Boston: Richard and Samuel Draper, 1763).

- X. That as they be Frugal in Opposition to Luxury: so they avoid all Appearance of Covetousness, and recommend themselves according to their Abilities by prudent Exercise of Liberality and Charity.⁶

There was little opportunity for one of their first appointees to do other than live frugally. John Talbot, like other missionaries who followed him, arrived and began work without a congregation, and soon found that the Society's stipend did not go far toward supplying his necessities. He found "Cloaths ar very dear here, & Gown & Cassock here will cost above 20li."⁷ Later he wrote that clothes ". . . are very dear here, black is hardly to be had att any Rate. It would cost a man 40 £ per Ann to goe decently here in the habit of his Order . . . ;"⁸ and a little later he complained that shoes were nine shillings a pair "and not half so good as in England."⁹ Other missionaries found this equally true:

"Meat and drink bear much the same price here as in London, but as for apparel for ourselves & Families which by reason of our mean Circumstances we are obliged to purchase in this Country at a very extravagant rate because transported from England, it consumes the greatest part of our Salaries."¹⁰

European goods in Lewes were sold at 200 per cent advance on London prices.¹¹

George Ross was appointed to New Castle with a stipend of £70, and the glebe farm was computed at a value of £20, but the congregation gave him no certain stipend.¹² This was in general conformity with the stipends of the ordinary clergy in Virginia in the previous century,¹³ but Ross found it difficult to live on the stipend provided and was forced to take a tutoring position in addition to his parochial duties.¹⁴

The Swedish pastors had their difficulties with the collection of their stipends, too. In 1697 the congregation of Holy Trinity had agreed to pay £100 Pennsylvania currency,¹⁵ but two years later a congregational meeting was held and the pastor asked "that they

⁶Pennington, *Apostle of New Jersey*, p. 16.

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 86.

⁸SPG MSS, A Series, I, #CXXX.

⁹*Ibid.*, #CXX.

¹⁰Perry, *Collections*, II: 137.

¹¹*Ibid.*, V: 60.

¹²Perry, *Collections*, V: 43.

¹³Mohler, *op. cit.*, p. 355.

¹⁴Ross to SPG, July 9, 1708. Perry: *Collections*, V: 6. Other clergy increased their stipends in this manner, too.

¹⁵Burr, *Records of Holy Trinity (Old Swedes) Church*, p. 17.

should make up my salary for the coming year either in money, or wheat.'¹⁶ For the pastor, not only money was scarce, but wheat also. By 1706 he was complaining (with reason) that he lived worse than a common laborer, for the common laborer received £20 a year over and above his board, lodging, washing and drink, but Björk, even if he should get all that was due him, would be £20 out of pocket for every year he remained in Christina.¹⁷

On the side of the S. P. G. it might be said that theirs was a new venture. For the first time, except for a few continental chaplaincies, the Church of England was concerning itself about others outside of the British Isles. England and Ireland had once been great missionary bases. From them had gone missionaries to Germany, Norway, Sweden and Finland, but since the Reformation all her interest had been centered in settling her own difficulties. It was not to be expected that the movement would suddenly blossom into full bloom; rather it must grow from small beginnings. The Society had its difficulties in raising the small stipends provided for the men in the missions, for not all members took their responsibilities as seriously as they might.¹⁸

LACK OF LOCAL SUPPORT

The Society expected that the congregations which asked for missionaries would do something toward raising funds toward their support, but this was uphill work because churchmen had not been in the habit of supporting the parson in the old country. There his living had been endowed. The Rev. Mr. Crawford found this a hindrance to his work at the beginning of his mission, and pointed out that he hesitated to ask converts for support lest they think he was interested in them only because of what he could get from them. He

¹⁶Burr, *Records of Holy Trinity (Old Swedes) Church*, p. 87.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 115-6.

¹⁸Greene, E. B., "Anglican Outlook in the Colonies" in *American Historical Review* (Washington, 1914-15) XX: 64-85. See page 67 in particular:

"Notwithstanding its connection with a richly endowed church, the financial resources of the society were meager indeed. In 1707 the annual charges for missions and schools amounted to £1065 with yearly subscriptions not exceeding £759; and at the next annual meeting it was reported that the annual income from all sources including casual benefactions was less than a thousand pounds, with fixed and contingent charges more than £400 in excess of that amount. In 1709-10 the auditing committee reported a yearly charge of £1251 exclusive of about £150 for books given to missionaries. The disbursements exceeded the certain yearly income by nearly £500. Many members, including some of the bishops, failed to pay their dues promptly. In 1706 the Bishops of Hereford and Bristol had to be notified of arrears and in 1708 the Bishop of Gloucester asked to have his subscription stopped. In March 1709-10, members were in arrears for dues to the amount of £729."

found that he was often forced to perform marriages without charge, for otherwise couples would go to the justice of peace.¹⁹ He claimed that from his parish he never received more than £20 Pennsylvania currency, and that even this was in produce.²⁰ Because of the poor support from his mission, the Society agreed to increase his stipend from £60 to £70 as long as he stayed in Dover.²¹

William Black had hardly arrived in Lewes before he wrote to the bishop of London that the salary

"which being 50 £ p. Ann is too little by One half for a Minister who lives there: ffor while the Minister depends upon the Precarious Contribucion of a very poor People for the greatest part of his Salary, he is forced either to Connive at many of their irregular actions or to lose the next Years Subscription of every one he displeaseth by reproving their Vices. . . ."²²

With the missionaries so very dependent upon the Society's stipend, the least possibility of any failure in payments caused considerable difficulties. Jenkins found to his sorrow that the Society stopped his salary when he went to New Castle instead of his own mission, and hastened to rectify his mistake. Arriving back at Appoquinimy, he wrote on March 23, 1708-9:

" . . . having never received in the six Months time I Serv'd at New Castle but four pieces of eight, and tho' they have promis'd to pay for my diet, yet to this day it remains unpaid, to the Sum of 15 £ which I have reason to fear must be discharged by myself, who am no ways able to do it, unless my usual Salary for your Hon. . . . Society be punctually paid. . . ."²³

Jenkins died, however, before his bills could be paid, and Evans and Talbot buried him at their own expense.²⁴

It was this lack of sufficient stable support which caused the missionaries to be so often on the move—always seeking a place which they thought would give them more advantages in the way of permanent stipends. The lack of local support was the underlying factor in Ross' difficulties when he first went to New Castle. The wardens of New Castle had refused to find him either a house or a subscription list, and this was coupled with the fact that "New Castle is a place where everything is extraordinary dear, and a man that has a family

¹⁹Perry, *Collections*, V, 3.

²⁰*Ibid.*, V, 18.

²¹Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

²²SPG MSS, Ser. A, Vol. 5, #168 dated March 8, 1709-10.

²³*Ibid.*, Vol. 4, #110.

²⁴See Chapter II, above.

cannot subsist upon the Society's Bounty of £50 per annum.' ²⁵ New Castle had promised to find £50 per annum for Ross to supplement his stipend from the Society,²⁶ but subscriptions were easier pledged than paid.

In Kent County Crawford likewise found that subscriptions were hard to collect. In three years at Dover he had no more than twenty pounds a year, Pennsylvania currency, although fifty pounds had been promised. Even then the payment was made in kind and not in silver.²⁷ Of course, debtors are the greatest fault finders. When parishioners fell behind in their contributions, the parson could expect that some fault would be found with his ministrations. So George Ross found in 1709:

"We subscribed towards his maintenance the sum of £50 pr. annum, to be paid from the time of his arrival, during his continuance amongst us as our Pastor, which would have been enlarged had he duly attended his ministry; but his frequent absence from his church for the space of three weeks or a month at a time (without any supply, and one particularly the whole week next before Easter,) occasioned several of his hearers to keep back the contributions they intended him. . . .'"²⁸

This charge against Ross neglecting his parish might have made some people neglect their payments, for he did, as we know, serve a large area as best one man could with the means of travel available in those days, but it should be noted that these people did not come forward to pay Jenkins while he served that parish exclusively for six months. Rather he left the place with his food bill still unpaid by reason of the neglect of the New Castle congregation. One difficulty was that no regular means of collecting church dues seems to have been in use. Some of the parishes had collectors, but not many of them appear to have been very conscientious about their work.²⁹ The clergy must have felt that it was beneath their dignity to go about and collect from their parishioners. The notation in Old Swedes' Church Book bears this out:

"That my year's salary does not amount to 40 pounds currency, and irregular at that. How can it be likely that I can hold

²⁵Holcomb, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

²⁶Perry, *Collections*, V, 25. This would be in Pennsylvania currency, the value of which varied from 130 Pa. to 100 Sterling to as low as 187 Pa. to 100 Sterling between 1722 and 1766. See Bezanson, Anne, *et. al.*, *Prices in Colonial Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1935) pp. 318-9.

²⁷Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

²⁸Holcomb, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

²⁹By the time of the Revolution, Prince George's, Dagsboro, was paying the collector ten per cent of all he was able to collect. See *Vestry Record MSS.*

out longer in this way. A man servant has it better here in this country, and I must ride around, and scrape, and send after what I may get, as if it was my duty to send around the parish for something to live upon. . . . »

“I was promised 50 pounds a year on this side of the river, which would now in 12 years amount to 600 pounds, but I have received but 382 pounds and six pence, but if on the ground upon which they were offered, had I received there would still be 70 pound arrearage from the other side.’”³⁰

There is something to be said on the side of the congregations, however, for at a congregational meeting of Old Swedes in 1713, while they could not agree upon the amount of money to be paid their pastor, nevertheless there was no question but that they would provide not only lodging and maintenance, but also all the necessary household furniture, servants, and small animals. They agreed to clean, till and plow the land for them in addition to the salary. With money as scarce as it undoubtedly was, this ought to have been taken into consideration.³¹ Coin was so scarce in 1728 that one Philadelphia merchant wrote:

“And for shipping silver I can’t pretend to do that for it was never so scarce as now. If I were to pawn all I have in the world, I don’t think I could pick up £100 in all our town.’”³²

On the other hand, the point the Swedish clergy made was that the congregations were not willing to raise more for their pastor’s salary than was considered the normal wage for an ordinary hired man.³³

Both Pugh and Sinclair found the usual difficulties in getting their subscriptions paid in full.³⁴ Henderson, of course, was not at New Castle long enough to become dependent upon the congregation, and in addition to this he had married a well-to-do wife, but when he decided to leave and suggested Ross for his place, he asked the Society to raise the stipend to £70, “else he will be in a worse condition by far than he is in at present at Chester, for it is much more expensive living here than there.’”³⁵ Upon Ross’ return the congregation agreed to find him a house and £40 per annum.³⁶

³⁰Burr, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

³¹*Ibid.*, p. 180.

³²Bezanson, *op. cit.*, p. 317.

³³Burr, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

³⁴Perry, *op. cit.*, II, 202; *ibid.*, V, 28.

³⁵*Ibid.*, V, 31.

³⁶Holcomb, *op. cit.*, pp. 90-1

MARYLAND AND VIRGINIA STIPENDS

Jacob Henderson, one of the clergy from the Lower Counties, went to Maryland in 1712, probably because of the better salaries to be found in that province where the Church was established, yet he found that a man forced to live in town without a glebe was in rather desperate straits.³⁷ The salaries of Maryland clergy, like those in Virginia, were usually paid in tobacco, yet they were eagerly sought after by many S. P. G. missionaries.

Even the lucrative Maryland parishes would have been no better in most cases than was New Castle in 1724, had all the parishioners paid their pledges, for the Society gave Ross £70, the glebe yielded £20, and £48 Pennsylvania currency had been promised in contributions.³⁸ This same document gives the stipend at Appoquinimy as £60 from the Society and £30 from the parishioners, although they had no minister at the time it was written. William Becket at Lewes is one of the few men in colonial Delaware who seldom complained that he was being insufficiently paid. In the Fulham manuscript he is listed as saying that he received £60 from the Society and sufficient from his parishioners so that he could lay aside the Society's stipend. Becket must have been a good business man as well as being well liked by his parishioners, for with the £60 that he laid aside and contributions from the parishioners of his three churches, he bought his farm of 400 acres for which he paid £270.³⁹ Ross, however, although listed as receiving £48 in 1724, states in 1727 that he received but a trifle from the collections.⁴⁰

OTHER MEANS OF SUPPORT

There were other means of raising an occasional honest penny for the clergy. William Becket wrote with gratitude of the ten pounds

³⁷"6th. What are the ordinary prices of ye necessities of life there? Ans. Wee have no Market except at Annapolis, the Capital of this Province, and there but a poor one; our staple is Tobacco, and the people are mostly Impley'd ab^t that. Those who have plantations raise on them Beef, Pork, fowls, Indian Corn, wheat, Pease, and beans. There are orchards on most plantations, and in general people make some syder. Those who have not plantations are hard put to it for such things, and pay very dear for them; the price sometimes more sometimes less. It is impossible to fix the prices, they are so variable according to the circumstances of the Trade in the Province.

"Our Cloathing, household Furniture, Malt, beer, sugar, spice, Coffee, Tea and such Things generally come from England, and are sold by ye merch^{ts} here at above one hundred P cent. The expense of living here is generally valued doubl. w^t it is in England." So Henderson wrote after moving to Maryland. (Perry, *op. cit.*, IV, 137-8.)

³⁸Fulham MSS. *Collections of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 1851., p. 122.

³⁹Perry, *op. cit.* V, 62.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, V, 45.

which were willed to him in 1728 by Berkley Codd, one of the judges of Sussex.⁴¹ Marriages and burials also provided extra funds. In 1728 the charges incident to a burial in New Castle churchyard were:

For breaking Ground, four shillings & six pence, to be paid to the Church Wardens of the Dece'dts, Heirs, Ex'rs or Adm'ts for the repairs of the Church, and Church Yard fence.

To the Minister towards his support,	six Shills
To the Clerk for his attendance & Register,	four Shills
To the Grave Digger or Sexton,	four Shills
To Do. for a common Invitation	Three Shills
To Do. tolling ye Bell for a funeral	Two Shills ⁴²

The question of the marriage licenses, and of the fees incidental to marriages, also proved a source of income to the clergy until this special privilege became a political football—to be tossed back and forth between the governors and the assemblies. The clergy felt this lack of income and tried as best they could to keep it within the hands of the Church of England clergy, even going so far as to enlist the support of the bishop of London who wrote to Governor Gordon on November 16, 1728:

“It has been mention'd to me, that some alteration has been made there in ye manner of laying matrimonial Licenses; by wch occasional Perquisites that ye Clergy us'd to enjoy, are now cut off. I am not well enough appris'd of ye case to descend to particulars; but however it be, I beg leave to be so far an Advocate of the Clergy, as to bespeak your favour to them, to such a degree, as the reason of things, and the nature of your Constitution there, will fairly admit. And as they can desire no more, so I dare say it is what you will readily grant.”⁴³

The clergy did not receive exclusive jurisdiction with regard to the issuance of marriage licenses again, so this portion of their income was lost. Another difficulty they found was that they had continually to build up a new list of subscribers as the older members died. Today we have become used to this, but it was a trial to these men in small congregations with small numbers limiting their possibilities. George Ross reported in 1732 that he was having his difficulties with regard to increasing his numbers. Churchmen were laughed at, even a justice from the bench called them idiots for paying regard to priests and churches. His old subscribers were dead, and the new ones were poor

⁴¹Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

⁴²*New Castle Vestry Record*, June 10, 1728.

⁴³*Penna. Archives*, Ser. 1, Vol. 1, p. 236.

givers. Even though he had been twenty-seven years in the employ of the Society, he received only about £12 from his people, and although he had a small Maryland cure, he got very little from it because he had to share the income with his assistant. Because of these difficulties, and because of his age, he asked the Society to increase his stipend to £80.⁴⁴ Evidently this request was not granted, for in 1744 he was listed as receiving £70 from the Society.⁴⁵

This same document listed the other Delaware stipends as Lewes, Appoquinimy, Kent County, and an Itinerant as £60 each,⁴⁶ but these sums presupposed some additions by the congregations. This must have been the usual stipend for the Lower Counties, for on April 15, 1756, Matthew Wilson was called to the pastorate of the Lewes Presbyterian Church at an annual stipend of £70. There was this difference, however, that the Presbyterians subscribed under bond.⁴⁷ Their pastor's salary was therefore guaranteed and could be collected in a court of law. There is no evidence that this was done among Anglicans.

In 1757 the Society was requiring all parishes to provide not only a glebe for their minister, but at least £20 per annum support from the congregations.⁴⁸ For unmarried men board at this time was computed at £8 per annum.⁴⁹ It would seem then, that prices were in somewhat the same proportion as those today for food and lodging, but other items which required to be imported were of course much more expensive.

The Society's income decreased in 1761,⁵⁰ and the Delaware missionaries had £10 deducted from their salaries for that year, but at this time the assistant ministers of Christ Church, Philadelphia, were

⁴⁴Perry, *op. cit.*, V, 65.

⁴⁵SPG *Minutes*, p. 47. (Church Historical Society.)

⁴⁶*Ibid.*

⁴⁷*Records (MSS) of the Lewes Presbyterian Church.*

⁴⁸*MSS Vestry Records of New Castle, 1757.*

⁴⁹Burr, *Records of Holy Trinity*, p. 439.

⁵⁰*A Sermon Preached before the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts; at their Anniversary Meeting in the Parish Church of St. Mary-le Bow, on Friday February 21, 1766.* By the Rt. Rev. Father in God, William [Warburton] Lord Bishop of Gloucester. London: Printed by E. Owen and T. Harrison in Warwick-Lane. MDCCLXVI, p. 32. The total expenditures for missionaries was £3727.10.0. Two years previous the total had been £3942.10.0. See annual sermon for that year by Richard [Terriek], Bishop of Peterborough; title as before except for name, date and printer.

receiving £200 per annum.⁵¹ The young country clergy began with small pickings. The appointees to Delaware were given stipends of £40,⁵² but in the case of John Andrews the Sussex congregations not only raised a subscription list of £75, but also promised £18 each year until a glebe could be purchased.⁵³ This agreement was continued under the ministry of the Rev. Samuel Lyon.⁵⁴ Although this was considerably better than the first missionaries had received, nevertheless the Maryland salaries were still considerably above those of the missionaries.⁵⁵

THE CORPORATION FOR THE RELIEF OF WIDOWS AND CHILDREN OF CLERGYMEN

The Rev. William Smith, D. D. spoke of the difficulties of the missionaries with regard to salaries in a sermon preached for the benefit of the Corporation for the Relief of Widows and Children of Clergymen, in Philadelphia on October 10, 1769:⁵⁶

“Many words are not needful to explain the nature and propriety of such a charity as this, nor need I mention the long call there hath been for its establishment.

You well know the situation and circumstances of the Clergy of the Church of England, in these northern colonies: for the relief of whose families, when left in distress, this design is more particularly set on foot. Except in a few places, their chief support depends upon the bounty of our fellow-members of the Church in Great-Britain; and that venerable Society, who have of late been obliged, and will still more be obliged, to retrench their allowance; that, like faithful stewards, they may be likewise able to reach out their helping hand to those numerous petitioners for new missions, which arise from the constant increase of people in these colonies.

The additional support which our Clergy receive from their Congregations, is generally small, and exceedingly precarious; decreasing sometimes in nominal, often in real value; while the

⁵¹Dorr, *History of Christ Church, Philadelphia*, p. 133. As early as 1747 the Rev. William Sturgeon, assistant minister of Christ Church, was receiving £30 from the Society, £60 from the congregation, and £33, 15, half of the rector's perquisites. Two years later the Society granted him an additional £10. See Richard I. Shilling: “William Sturgeon, Catechist to the Negroes of Philadelphia and Assistant Rector of Christ Church, 1747-1766” in *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, VIII (December, 1939), p. 389.

⁵²Turner; *op. cit.*, p. 234; S. P. G. Sermon as before by Bishop Warburton, 1766.

⁵³*MSS Vestry Record of St. Peter's Church* for July 22, 1767.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, August 14, 1769.

⁵⁵In 1767 the Maryland salaries ranged from £364 to £76, with the greater number at the higher end of the scale. Perry, *Collections*, IV, 336-7.

⁵⁶Smith, William, *The Works of . . .* (2 vols. Maxwell & Fry, Philadelphia, 1803) pp. 412-413.

expense of every necessary in life is proportionally increasing. Decency, a regard to character, to their own usefulness, to the credit of Religion, and even your credit, among whom they minister, require them to maintain some sort of figure in their families, above those in common professions and business; while certain it is on the other hand, that any sober reputable tradesman, can turn his industry to more account than they.

The like regard to decency and the character also forbids our Clergy to follow any secular employ, in aid of their circumstances; unless, perhaps, here and there one, by education, should have been qualified for some practice in the healing art of medicine, which is not deemed incompatible with the Pastoral duty, where it is not too large.

On the whole, this I will venture to assert, that were the generality of our Clergy to make their calculation according to the way of the world, the money expended in their education at Schools and Colleges, a voyage for Holy Orders, and the purchase of necessary books (if it had been laid out at first as a common capital at interest) would bring them a greater annual return, without any trouble or fatigue, either of Body or Mind, than they can procure by the labour of their whole lives, in discharge of their pastoral duty, exclusive of the bounty of benevolent persons in the mother country.

I am far from mentioning these things as complaints; I know they are of necessity in many places; and I trust none of my brethren among the clergy will ever make their calculation in this way; but keep their eye on their Master's service, looking for the "Recompense of Reward." Yet what I mention is so far necessary, as it shows incontestably the great propriety of the design before us."

This society was one of the first (and most successful)⁵⁷ insurance corporations for the clergy. Five classes were established on the basis of the amount a member wanted to pay annually. These classes were \$24, \$20, \$16, \$12, and \$8 respectively. Some idea of clerical salaries can be gained from the fact that there were nine in the first class, two in the second, seven in the third, one in the fourth and twelve in the last. The Delaware clergy, who were members, paid as follows:

Magaw	\$20
Reading	8
Andrews	20
Tingley	8 ⁵⁸

⁵⁷Now divided into three corporations in Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York, each corporation has withstood all financial trials of the country and is in excellent condition. See Walter Herbert Stowe: "The Corporation for the Relief of Widows and Children of Clergymen" in *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, III (March, 1934), pp. 19-33.

⁵⁸Smith, *Works*, p. 439, 442. Tingley paid for only one year. Magaw, it will be remembered, had a wealthy father-in-law.

HIGH COST OF LIVING DURING THE REVOLUTION

By the time of the beginning of the Revolutionary War the S. P. G. was contributing much less to the Delaware clergy than had been the case in the early days of the mission. Aeneas Ross and Philip Reading were each receiving sixty pounds, Samuel Magaw received forty pounds, ten pounds were set aside for the new man who was to come to St. Paul's, Kent County, and Mispillion, and Samuel Lyon at Lewes was receiving forty pounds.⁵⁹ But by this time commodities had begun to increase in price, and the pastor of the Swedes' Church complained that things were twice as dear as they had been four years before.⁶⁰

This increase in prices is noted particularly in the *Records of Holy Trinity (Old Swedes) Church*. In 1774 Dr. Girelius was willing to serve for £140,⁶¹ but by 1779 he was receiving £200 and complained that this was not sufficient to meet his bills, prices having risen so quickly.⁶² But the Episcopal clergy were not so fortunate. In 1788 the Rev. Mr. Clay's salary at New Castle was fixed at £50, and in Lewes twenty-seven individuals pledged £38, 5 for the support of the Rev. Stephen Sykes.⁶³ And in 1790 the Rev. William Skelley was promised £30 for officiating every sixth Sunday in Lewes. He also served the rest of the churches in Sussex, as well as being rector of Stepney Parish, Maryland.⁶⁴

MISSION GLEBES

The glebe farms also provided an integral part of the system whereby the colonial clergy were supported. In a largely agricultural community, where land, while more expensive than in less settled sections of the New World, was proportionally much less expensive than manufactured goods, it was good business to provide the parson with a farm. Farmers have traditionally been much more self-sufficient than the other portions of the community, and in the days of large families, labor was not a great problem. Colonial Delaware had a number of slaves, especially in the southern part of the territories where the plantation system was more in vogue. The pastor of the

⁵⁹*A Sermon preached*, etc. by Charles Moss, Bishop of St. David's, 1772, p. 14.

⁶⁰Burr, *Records of Holy Trinity*, etc., p. 496. The years would be 1768 and 1772. The price of claret seems to have remained fairly constant, at four shillings a bottle throughout the period. See *Worcester Parish Register* for numerous instances.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, p. 507.

⁶²*Ibid.*, p. 511. Between 1720 and 1775 the average monthly wholesale prices of some 54 representative articles increased more than 50% and price fluctuations were apt to be very sharp. See Bezanson, *op. cit.*, 310-11.

⁶³*MSS Records of St. Peter's Church*, June 10, 1789.

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, June 1790.

Swedes' Church had a slave, but she was a house servant, not a field hand. William Becket willed two slaves to his daughters.

On December 3, 1678, the court ordered "500 or 600 acres of land layed off for Glebe land for a minister within this Court's jurisdiction with a fit proportion of marrish [marsh] to be in the most convenient place where land not taken up can be found: As also that a lot 120 feet broad & 300 feet long be layed out in town to build a house for ye minister on . . .,"⁶⁵ but there is no record of this order having been carried out. The duke of York's laws were very favorable to the Church—at least on paper, but neither Church nor school provisions had many permanent effects.

New Castle had to wait forty-one years for a glebe. This came as the bequest of Richard Halliwell, who had been a member of the council and of the assembly. His will, dated December 4, 1716, and proved December 17, 1719, not only left £60 which he had pledged toward the building of the new church in New Castle, but also

"all my marsh and plantation, scituate near the Broad Dyke in the Town of New Castle afs'd., containing and laid out for sixty-seven acres of land and marsh, together with all the houses, orchards and other improvements thereunto belonging to the proper use and behoof of the minister that from time to time shall serve the said Emanuel Church forever . . ."⁶⁶

Whether or not the clergy actually had charge of the New Castle glebe does not appear to be very clear. Probably the glebe was in the hands of the vestry and leased, for it is usually spoken of as being "accounted to be worth £20 stg."⁶⁷ In 1757, when Cleveland was appointed to New Castle, the wardens were informed that the new rules of the Society required them to provide him with a house.⁶⁸ From this I should judge that it was not the habit of the parson to live on his glebe. On the other hand, Clay's salary was fixed at £50 in lieu of the use of the glebe, which was left in the hands of the vestry in order that repairs might be made upon it.⁶⁹ In all probability the glebe was managed at different times in different manners.

In 1744 the congregation at Duck Creek bought land for a forty acre glebe and used this as an argument for the settling of a minister among them.⁷⁰ Samuel Magaw, when he came as missionary to Kent

⁶⁵*New Castle County Record*, A, 342.

⁶⁶Holcomb, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

⁶⁷Perry, *Collections*, V, 43.

⁶⁸*Vide Supra*.

⁶⁹Holcomb, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

⁷⁰SPG MSS, B, 12, #53.

County, had a poor impression of its value. Writing to the Venerable Society on August 31, 1775, he described it as follows:

"The Glebe at Duck Creek was purchased about 30 years ago, by the Vestry of that Church. It contains only 50 acres, by computation. For several years past, it has brought in no more than £6 annually. Being too small of itself for a farm; and there being no opportunity of making an addition to it; we have usually lett it as an appendage to some neighboring one. On this account we deemed it expedient to apply for an Act of Assembly of this Government, to empower Commissioners to sell it—directing, at the same time, that the purchase money shall be put out, on proper security, till call'd for to assist in procuring a better farm; and the interest in the meanwhile appropriated to the same use that the Rents were before. Such an Act hath been obtained; And the Sale is soon to take place. We don't expect above £150 for it.'"⁷¹

The Dover glebe was also the gift of a New Castle communicant, Col. Robert French. The deed is indexed in the *Kent County Record* under the heading "Robert French, curatoribus Ecclesiae," but was never actually recorded.⁷² Situated about a mile below Dover on the Bay Road, it contained about 110 acres. The original Dover Church was on this land, but falling into decay during the long period after Crawford's dismissal by the Society, it was found more expedient to build a new church in the town. Magaw also described this land on August 13, 1775:

"There are two Tracks; neith of them large. That belonging to Dover, was given to the Church, in the Year 1704, by one Col. French. It lies 2 miles from the town:—is well situated; contains 100 acres; of which, 85 are in tillage; the remainder, in woods. The Soil is naturally fertile and very kindly; but now a good deal worn. The greatest inconvenience is, that there is not enough of it to merit an considerable improvements, or to attract the notice of a good tenant. About 20 years ago,—in Mr. Neal's time,—there was a small Parsonage house built, under his direction:"⁷³

After the Rev. William Becket had been in the Sussex mission for eleven years and had a family of four children, he found that the subscriptions from his parishioners and the stipend from the Society were insufficient to support him and was tempted to try for a Maryland or Virginia parish, but the parishioners, being unwilling to lose him,

⁷¹*SPG MSS*, B, 21, #157.

⁷²Gibson, *Church at Dover*, p. 5.

⁷³*SPG MSS*, B, 21, #157. The glebe was sold in 1859 for \$3000; \$1800 were used for the repairs to the Dover Church. (Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 50.)

agreed to assist him in the purchase of a farm in Indian River Hundred on Rehoboth Bay.⁷⁴ Doubts have already been expressed as to whether this should be considered the property of Becket or whether it should be considered as a parish glebe. At any rate no attempt was made to buy another farm for the missionary until the passage of the Society's regulation requiring congregations to provide a farm for the missionaries who should be appointed after 1765. Upon the arrival of the Rev. John Andrews the three churches comprising his mission agreed to pay him £18, or £6 from each congregation, in addition to their subscriptions, until a farm could be bought,⁷⁵ and a committee was appointed to buy a farm.

This additional stipend was paid until 1757 when a farm was bought in Indian River Hundred, Angola Neck, by the congregations of Lewes and St. George's. St. Matthew's, Cedar Creek, continued to pay the £6 each year.⁷⁶

This farm, too, must have been leased or worked on shares, for Tingley certainly lived in Lewes during the period he was in charge of the mission.⁷⁷ In 1791 each church received a profit of £64,2,7½ from the glebe,⁷⁸ but when the glebe was sold in August (to become effective in December of that year) the sale price was £200.⁷⁹ The income derived in that year must, therefore, have been an accumulation of profits covering some period of time.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Certain it is that no parson in the colonial period in Delaware was able to continue his work without some financial worries. The combination of mission stipend, subscription, glebe rents, and an occasional try at tutoring, were insufficient to keep many of the missionaries at their posts. Twenty-seven clergymen served within the confines of the Three Lower Counties. Of these, the whereabouts of one after he left Delaware is unknown; four returned to Great Britain; nine left Delaware to take parishes in Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New York; thirteen remained in the missions until death claimed them. In other words, less than one half of the clergy were content to remain—the rest sought work elsewhere.

⁷⁴See Chapter IV for a description of the farm, of the amounts subscribed, and of the help given from the Society.

⁷⁵*MSS Vestry Record* of St. Peter's Church, July 22, 1767.

⁷⁶*Ibid.*, II.

⁷⁷*Vide supra*, Chapter IV.

⁷⁸*MSS Vestry Records of St. Peter's Church*, meeting of June 9, 1791.

⁷⁹*Ibid.*, meeting of August 3, 1791.

On the other side of the ledger something else must be said. Most of the Delaware clergy were young men when they arrived, or else were recently converted ministers from other churches. In the majority of cases (at least eighteen) the first parish these men held was in Delaware. It was to be expected that some of them would seek wider opportunities for their ministry than was possible in the territories, for some of those who left eventually took leading places in the councils of the Church. Yet it cannot be doubted that the relatively low salaries had much to do with their desire to move.

CHAPTER VII

THE CONGREGATIONS, THEIR CHURCHES AND SERVICES

PENNSYLVANIA, either in the Upper or Lower Counties, is not ordinarily thought of as being settled by Church of England adherents. Much work has been done on Quaker, Scotch-Irish, Swedish and German immigrants, yet there is considerable evidence that churchmen were the most numerous among the settlers in the Lower Counties.

CHURCHMEN IN THE POPULATION

In 1729 the Rev. William Becket gave Ryves Holt, the high sheriff of Sussex County, as his authority for the following figures—215 taxable inhabitants were churchmen, 120 Presbyterians, and 15 Quakers: “. . . allowing 5 persons to each family the number of souls will be 1750.”¹ This was a decrease from 1724, when he reported 400 families in his mission.² In New Castle County the population for 1730 was 2500.³ Arthur Ussher listed 1005 families in Kent County in 1743, of which 508 were churchmen, 302 Presbyterian, 60 Quakers and 45 “Papists”;⁴ and by 1746 the number of inhabitants in the town of New Castle was 820, of which 790 were baptized, and 200 considered themselves members of the Church of England.⁵ Living within the bounds of Appoquinimy mission at the same time were 2499 inhabitants, 1960 of whom were baptized, 768 were Church of England, 1361 were dissenters of various sorts, including 82 “Papists” and 370 “heathen and infidels.”⁶ By 1760 the Dover mission included 1500 taxables and it was estimated that one-sixth of these were churchmen.⁷ ten years later Samuel Magaw reported that the number of churchmen was greater than those of any other denomination.⁸ The Quakers were very opposed to baptism, so the small number of unbaptized gives some indication of their numerical weakness in the Territories.

¹Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

²*Ibid.*, p. 184.

³Lydekker, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

⁴Gibson, *Church of Dover*, p. 16.

⁵SPG MSS, B, 14, p. 189.

⁶*Ibid.*, B, 15, 141.

⁷*Ibid.*, B, 21, 139.

⁸Hotchkin, *Early Clergy*, p. 240.

MANY BAPTISMS AND FEW COMMUNICANTS

Today the number of baptisms performed by the missionaries seems astounding. Any clergyman in the Episcopal Church who today reported several hundred baptisms at one time would be a phenomenon, yet this was often done in the colonial period. As early as 1709 the Rev. Thomas Crawford reported 220 or 230 persons baptized within his own cure during three years in Kent County, and this number did not include those baptized during his travels in Sussex, New Castle, and other places. Becket reported 55 baptisms, including nine adults for six months in 1722; 82, including 12 adults for six months in 1724; and 80 for six months in 1725.⁹ By 1737 he could report that he baptized 41 children during the month of July and that this was not an exceptional number.¹⁰ Between April 30, 1739, and April 30, 1740, he baptized 118 infants and seven adults.¹¹ Between March, 1745, and June, 1750, there were 415 baptisms at Lewes Church alone.¹² This was typical of all of the missions. Likewise every mission reported four or five adult baptisms annually which, considering the importance laid upon infant baptism, was a considerable number. In many cases adult baptisms were the result of conversions from Quakerism. We have already seen that George Ross was requested to baptize several adults when he visited Sussex in 1717, and refused to do so for lack of time to prepare the candidates properly. The same attention to pre-baptismal instruction is noted a number of times in missionaries' letters, and this was particularly true in the case of slave baptisms.

The Delaware missionaries found the same difficulties with regard to slave baptisms as prevailed in other sections. The missionaries had, by the rules of the Society, a responsibility for the Christianization of the Negro and the Indian.¹³ The records abound with references to the baptism of Negroes after catechization. Charles Inglis, I believe, is the only Delaware missionary who lists them as communicants,¹⁴ although George Ross made several statements which might lead one to believe that he also admitted them to the Lord's Supper.

The program of the Society and of its missionaries was the preparation of the Negro for the reception of the sacraments and for full communicant status in the Church. Of course, in the matter of com-

⁹Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

¹⁰Letter to SPG, Aug. 2, 1737.

¹¹Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

¹²*Ibid.*, p. 331.

¹³*Vide*, F. J. Klingberg, *Anglican Humanitarianism in Colonial New York*, Chapter IV. (Church Historical Society, Philadelphia, 1940).

¹⁴SPG MSS, B, 21, 139.

municants the missionaries had their difficulties. The Book of Common Prayer, which they used, has two rubrics which restrict the number of those who might be admitted as communicants:

It is expedient that every person, thus baptized, should be confirmed by the Bishop as soon after his Baptism as conveniently may be; that so he may be admitted to the Holy Communion.¹⁵

And none shall be admitted to the holy Communion, until such time as he be confirmed, or be ready and desirous to be confirmed.¹⁶

The clergy generally considered these rubrics as restrictive, with the result that there were few communicants. The Rev. Evan Evans in 1707 wrote of this difficulty:

“Add to this that the want of a Bishop to Confirm in these parts is a great Trouble, to the American Clergy, for they are bound by the Rubric not to administer the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper but to such as are Confirmed; which Prohibition notwithstanding they are forced to break thro’, in this Case of Necessity; many other Reasons may be assigned for the Erecting a Bishoprick in the British America.”¹⁷

Under such restrictions one can readily understand why a small number of communicants would be reported. William Becket reported that he had 27 communicants at Easter and Whitsunday, 1725; by 1729 he reported 19 communicants at Lewes on Christmas, 20 at St. George’s at Easter, and 18 at St. Matthew’s on Whitsunday.¹⁸ George Ross reported on June 15, 1736, that he ordinarily had 16 communicants but that at Easter and other high holy days he had nearer 40.¹⁹ This is an interesting statement for in their semi-annual reports to the Society the missionaries always give the number of communicants at the three principal holy days: Christmas, Easter and Whitsunday.

This leaves a general impression that the sacrament was administered on these days only, yet here is evidence to the contrary, even though he does not give any indication as to the frequency with which it was administered. Walter Hackett, Ross’ son-in-law, of Appoquinimy, had the sacrament once a month in 1729,²⁰ but the wardens and vestry of Dover complained in 1748 that their parson, Bluett,

¹⁵*Vide*, end of office for the Baptism of Such as are of Riper Years.

¹⁶*Vide*, end of office for Confirmation.

¹⁷Perry, *Collections*, II, 39.

¹⁸Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

¹⁹Holcomb, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

²⁰Perry, *Collections*, II, 166.

had not administered that sacrament in the two years he was there.²¹ Reporting on March 29, 1737/38, Becket wrote he had 30 communicants at the "Eucharist" in Lewes. His use of the word Eucharist is unusual; it is the only case observed in colonial Delaware. By 1750 all of the missionaries were reporting an average of 45 communicants at the principal feasts, and the population of their towns was reported: at Dover, 100 houses; Lewes, 100 houses; New Castle, 250 houses; and Wilmington, 260 houses.²² The clergy did stress frequent communions, however. George Ross, when he found his people negligent about partaking of the sacrament, distributed three dozen copies of the Society's tract, Bishop King on the "Invention of Men," and doubled his number of communicants at the next service.²³

Mrs. Johns of New Castle wrote about the consecration of New Castle church by Bishop White in 1822 and said, "The Sacrament was administered after morning service. The first time in forty years!!!"²⁴ This seems unbelievable. Forty years from that date would take us back to the days of Aeneas Ross, Charles Henry Wharton, and Robert Clay. Another point must be considered. The old paten at New Castle Church is dated 1813.²⁵ Is it likely that a paten would be given to a church which never had the sacrament? Or having been given and received, is it likely that either donor or receiver would be content to allow nine years to elapse before it was used?

CHURCH SILVER

This lack of proper communion plate, however, may have been one of the reasons for infrequency of communion in the earlier period, for most of the plate is rather late in date. On June 25, 1761, the Rev. Philip Reading wrote that the church in Appoquinimy had a silver cup which was the gift of Queen Anne, but that they had no paten or proper chalice, and that Mrs. Rebecca Dyre had left a legacy of £10, Pennsylvania currency, for communion plate. He asked the secretary to oversee the making of it.²⁶ This silver was made in England and arrived the following year.²⁷ The height of this chalice is 7½ inches and is (to our modern eyes) better proportioned than most colonial

²¹Perry, *Collections*, V, 93-4.

²²*Delaware in American Guide Series*, (Viking Press, N. Y., 1938) p. 46.

²³Letter of October 9, 1725.

²⁴Holcomb, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

²⁵Harrington, Jessie, *Silversmiths of Delaware, 1700-1850, & Old Church Silver in Delaware* (1939, National Society of Colonial Dames of America in the State of Delaware).

²⁶*SPG MSS*, B, 21, #188.

²⁷*Ibid.*, #190.

chalices, for it is much less deep in the cup. St. Anne's Church, Middletown, also has an old beaker with almost straight sides and a slightly flaring top, which, Miss Harrington says, was probably made by John Nys, a silversmith of Kent County who died in 1734, but it would seem to me to correspond to a cup which Philip Reading calls the gift of Queen Anne.

On July 30, 1711, George Ross wrote that New Castle church was "much wanting plate for the Communion Table."²⁸ The church now has a tankard seven inches high, which was made in New York by Simeon Soumaine, and which is reputed to have been the gift of Col. Charles Gookin in 1710. In his letters of this period Ross wrote of the church and its furnishings and of the gift of a table cloth and two napkins from Col. Gookin, but he makes no mention of a gift of a tankard. At any rate, "plate" would include a tankard, and Ross said in 1711 that they needed plate. If the tankard was the gift of Col. Gookin, it would appear to have been after 1711. The old chalice at New Castle was also made by Soumaine, but it is not dated. Its sides are straight with a curved lip and a short base. The knob is large and the general appearance is rather squat. It is 6 and 5-8 inches high. As mentioned previously, the paten is dated 1813.

Dover's silver was the gift of Esther Wynkoop, the daughter of Jacob Wynkoop of Lewes and friend of the Philadelphia Hopkinsons, in 1766. The chalice and paten were destroyed in a nineteenth century fire, and the present silver is a restoration. Dagsboro Church's silver is dated 1772.

The Lewes silver was made by John David of Philadelphia and is inscribed THE GIFT OF THE HONORABLE JOHN PENN, ESQ., TO ST. PETER'S CHURCH IN LEWIS TOWN JUNE 10, 1773. The chalice is bell-shaped with a domed cover and a twisted finial, 12 inches high. It will hold more than a fifth of wine. The paten, without a base, is 10 and $\frac{3}{8}$ inches in diameter, and the silver tankard is nearly as high as the chalice and will hold a quart of wine. The inscription is apt to be deceiving, for actually the generosity of the gift cost John Penn nothing. A certain Henrietta Sims, a member of St. Peter's Church, dies intestate and her estate reverted to John Penn as governor. He directed that the moneys derived from her small estate be delivered to Jacob Kollock, John Rodney and John Wiltbank, vestrymen, and the church silver was bought by them.²⁹

Although the number of communicants was small, and so little was thought of the importance of the sacrament that congregations

²⁸Perry, *op. cit.*, V, 29.

²⁹Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 294 ff.

could manage without proper communion plate for more than fifty years, nevertheless the number of adherents of the Church in Delaware ran into a considerable section of the total population, but it was often an unstable group. Missionaries who remained at their posts for a number of years gained the confidence of the people and large congregations resulted, but in the intervals between the going of one man and the coming of the next these congregations strayed off to the nearest preacher they could find, regardless of denomination. This is the common experience of all religious leaders in any newly developed territory where the people have not had time to develop roots.

CHURCH ARCHITECTURE

In the early days of the settlement people lived in small board or log cabins. It is generally considered that the log cabin was a development of the Swedes along the Delaware and spread from them to English settlers in other sections of the New World. Large families and hard living conditions made these cabins crowded, but economy prevented the building of more imposing structures at first. In Philadelphia and its immediate environs the style of the imposing house we generally call "Colonial" did not develop before 1720, and Delaware was less far advanced. Most of our larger dwellings of the colonial period date from the latter half of the eighteenth century.

Little wonder, then, that the churches in the beginnings of the mission should be rather humble structures. Virginia and Maryland might be able to build imposing churches rather early, for taxes supported the Church. In the Lower Counties churches were built by the voluntary subscriptions of the people and had to be built in accordance with the funds available. Generally speaking, the first churches were of frame construction with either boards or shingles on the walls and with shingle roofs. Not until these first churches became worn out did brick churches begin to replace them. This happened in most cases about 1750 or thereafter.

Although not built until the latter part of the eighteenth century, Christ Church, Broad Creek, near Laurel, is typical not only of the construction of the wooden churches, but also of the floor plan and general building outline of the brick churches as well. It is of frame construction with board sides and shingle roof. The interior is rather rough carpentry and is unpainted. The ceiling is barrelled, the gallery extends across the west end, and the pews are high, three-sided, arranged in blocks of three without a middle aisle. Each pew has its door. The holy table is at the east end of the church and is surrounded

on three sides by a rail. Like all of the old churches in Delaware it is properly orientated, as are also the graves in the churchyard surrounding it. The whole is of rather rough construction, and while age has given it a patina and worn away some of its roughness, one can see that it would have been rather raw when it was first finished. The pulpit and reading desk are in the middle of the north wall, midway of the church.

These high pulpits, with reading desks below them, are not in fashion today, for they were the manifestation of an age which laid great stress on the prophetic ministry. There are those who think they are so arranged in an attempt to appease the puritan element which objected to prayers being said in the chancel, but a study of pulpits in old continental churches will show a like desire to place the pulpit in the place where the congregation might best hear. That the catholic nature of the church was not forgotten may be seen from a letter of Evan Evans: "And that church, which first seemed to be but a private Conventicle is now become truly the Catholick Church in those parts."³⁰

In the case of Broad Creek Church the gallery is at the west end. Dagsboro, St. George's and St. James', Whiteclay Creek, had galleries not only at the west end, but also on both sides of the nave. At Appoquinimy and Dover the galleries were at the west end and the south side. The gallery was governed by the seating capacity required and by the height and location of the pulpit. They were not "slave galleries," as the romanticists of the present day call them. There is no contemporary evidence in the Lower Counties for so naming them. The galleries were built to accommodate the large crowds which attended church.

Pews were not originally built at the expense of the whole congregation, but permission was given members to build their own. There are frequent notations in the *Vestry Records* of Immanuel Church, New Castle, similar to the following:

"August 18, 1715. It being signified to the Vestry that Peter Hans, John Welsh, John Earle, Jeremiah Larkins, Peter and Gabriel Johnston requested of them the liberty of building pews on that vacant ground, between the pews already built, and the west end of the church. Agreed that Peter Hans and John Welsh be allowed ground for building one pew between them and that, to the same purpose and effect, the same quantity of ground be granted in the same vacant space to the two Johnstons, etc."³¹

³⁰Perry, *op. cit.*, II, 32.

³¹*Vestry Records, Immanuel Church, New Castle* under this date.

After the pews were built, they were subject to an annual tax, but were controlled by the vestry only when they were abandoned or forfeited by the holders; they could be willed to heirs. The poorer people, who had not the ability to build pews, brought chairs and stools with them, and filled all the space available between the privately owned pews. Sometimes this space was filled with benches made by some enterprising individuals.³² Some idea of the condition of the buildings may be seen from frequent references in all the old vestry minutes concerning the employment of a sexton to ring the bell before services and "to sweep and sand the church twice a year."³³

Although it was the custom (indeed the law) in England at this time to have tablets of stone or wood set in the chancel walls upon which were inscribed the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Decalogue, there are none in Delaware which have survived, nor are there any references to such having been placed in the churches. This is strange, for these tablets were common in Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania and New York. It may be that the churches were too poor to provide them, or it may be that they were so common as to be taken for granted and were placed in all churches only to be removed by nineteenth century vandalism which seems to have had very little use for eighteenth century styles.

THE NEW CASTLE CHURCH

The only church we know of in New Castle is that built about 1705 and opened by the Rev. George Ross and Pastor Andrew Rudman in 1706. The present church is very much changed from the original and has been enlarged and reorientated. The original church comprised only the nave of the present church; the gallery, transepts and tower were added in 1820. The original church was 50 feet long and 30 feet wide, of brick construction, with a cedar roof. The gallery and porch were added in 1724.³⁴ Some conception of the care with which it was built may be seen from the fact that when the original church was but eight years old the church porches had to be built to uphold the walls. A similar condition was found in Old Swedes Church. Either the materials were inferior or else the masons lacked sufficient knowledge of the amount of wall necessary to withstand the outward thrusts of the roof structure:

³²Eberlein, H. D., *Architecture in Colonial America* (Boston: Little Brown & Co., 1927) p. 212.

³³See also *ibid.*, p. 215.

³⁴Perry, *op. cit.*, V, 45.

"The house of God in that place [New Castle] through the unskillfulness or carelessness of the first builders was nigh coming to the ground, but now is in a way of being thoroughly repaired by the vigilance of the incumbent, and will prove fairer and more commodious than heretofore it hath been."³⁵

By November 23, 1725, George Ross could report that the church was again in good repair, and that a bell had been procured and a steeple added, but by 1759 it was again reported as being out of repair.³⁶ No further work is reported, however, until 1791, when the churchyard was enclosed by a brick wall and other repairs were made to the church.

ST. JAMES' CHURCH, WHITECLAY CREEK

The frame of St. James' Church, Whiteclay Creek, was raised on December 4, 1716. Made of wood, it was 32 feet in length and 22 feet in width. It stood on a small knoll not far from the creek itself, and was opened for services on July 4, 1717, by George Ross.³⁷ James Robinson was the donor of the land and increased his gift to ten acres so as to provide for a school house.³⁸ By 1729 the congregation reported to the Society that the church had been out of repair but was then being put into condition, and they asked for a missionary of their own.³⁹ In 1767 a lottery was run and a new brick church was attempted at Newport.⁴⁰ This church was still abuilding in 1771. It was finally completed after a fashion and was used for a short time from 1800 to 1802.

ST. ANNE'S CHURCH, APPOQUINIMY

The commissioners of property granted the request of several inhabitants living near Appoquinimink Creek for ten acres of ground upon which to build a chapel on September 1, 1704,⁴¹ and about 1705 a log church was built on this land. On February 4, 1760 the Rev. Philip Reading wrote to the Rev. Richard Peters, who was in charge of Penn's land office in Philadelphia, that a Mr. Osborne had agreed to give land for a new church but that he was derelict in fulfilling his promise. This, Reading thought, was because of a certain Davis,

³⁵Letter of the Pennsylvania Clergy to the Society, October 24, 1723.

³⁶Holcomb, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

³⁷Perry, *op. cit.*, V, III.

³⁸Humphreys, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

³⁹Hotchkin, *op. cit.*, p. 236.

⁴⁰Perry, *op. cit.*, II, 407.

⁴¹Wilkie, Wm. J., *St. Anne's Church, Middletown, Delaware*, np. A pamphlet.

tenant on the land, who wanted the church to have some low land and Reading wanted higher ground.⁴² On the basis of this promise of land, £500 were raised within a few days for the new church, and yet in 1765 he was still hoping to begin within a few days.⁴³ By November 11, 1769, he hoped to see it covered,⁴⁴ and on September 23, 1771, he wrote to Richard Peters, now commissary to the bishop of London, asking to be excused from attending the annual meeting of the clergy because he was finishing the new church.⁴⁵

The time and effort spent by Philip Reading in building St. Anne's Church was well spent. In my estimation it is our finest colonial church in Delaware. Certainly it has been changed least. Joseph L. Copeland⁴⁶ says that the architectural details, especially the cove cornice, suggest an earlier date than 1768, which he considers the date of building, but there is no reason to question the dates of the letters cited above. The early building details merely show that country builders are apt to be a few years behind what is usually termed "fashionable." This is true today as well as in the colonial period.

The exterior of St. Anne's is of brick laid in Flemish bond with glazed headers. It is two stories high, nearly square in appearance. At the east end there is a fine specimen of Palladian window. The other windows are oblong with flat lintels and small panes of clear glass covered with shutters typical of this section of Delaware—panelled on one side with batten boards, on the other set chevron-wise to form a herring board back.

The west door is considered original, but the porch at the south entrance is of later date. Within, the box pews are set in three sections as in other old Delaware churches—without a center aisle. The gallery is at the west end and south side. The pews on the lower floor have been finished and painted, but the gallery pews are still in their natural unfinished state.

The altar is said to be original, but this may be doubted, for it is a box with a marble slab for a mensa. In the eighteenth century most altars were of wood and were "a Holy Table with four honest legs." Another reason for doubting the authenticity of the altar is that the other chancel arrangements have been altered. The pulpit and lectern, instead of being at the altar rail, as at present, were once in the middle

⁴²*Pennsylvania Annals*, Ser. I, vol. 3, pp. 699-700.

⁴³Perry, *op. cit.*, V: 114.

⁴⁴SPG MSS, B, 21, 200.

⁴⁵*Peters Papers MSS*, VII: 79. Pennsylvania Historical Society.

⁴⁶Bennett, George Fletcher, *Early Architecture of Delaware*. Introduction and text by Joseph L. Copeland (Wilmington, Historical Press, Inc., 1932).

of the north wall midway of the church. The space is there and a careful examination of the wall will show traces of the original reader's desk and high pulpit with sounding board. Originally they undoubtedly looked like the desk and pulpit at Broad Creek Church.

DUCK CREEK CHURCH

Duck Creek was originally a mile or more north of the present town of Smyrna where the Episcopal Cemetery is now located. Philip Reading of Appoquinimy wrote in 1746 that the people of Duck Creek had lately built a church and had engaged a reader, pending the displacement of Thomas Bluett, missionary at Dover.⁴⁷ This land upon which the church was built had been the gift of Thomas Green, May 17, 1740.⁴⁸ After the death of the reader, Reading visited the church at Duck Creek several times during the summer of 1747 and preached to large congregations.⁴⁹ Three years later Hugh Neill wrote that the church was in "tolerable good repair,"⁵⁰ yet less than one year later he said that he served three churches, "but none of them are in good order."⁵¹ This small church, built of wood, was not large enough for the congregations gathered by Charles Inglis and he reported that they had agreed in 1761 to build a larger brick church.⁵²

"When I first came here, in the year 1759, I found three Churches; one of Brick, at Dover, near the Center of the County, but quite out of order & indecent, without yard, without Glass, Plaister, Ceiling, Door, or Window shutters. The other two of wood, & in the same condition; . . . To have these Churches put into decent repair was the first object of my attention, & this I have succeeded in. . . . The Church of Duck Creek, in the upper end of the County, being too small, also, & being old besides, & decaying, the people unanimously agreed to build a new Brick Church, of larger dimensions, subscribed very liberally, according to their circumstances. The Church is now a building, & I expect to preach in it before next Winter."⁵³

Inglis' expectations were not fulfilled, for accidents happened which prevented the roof from being put on that winter. On December 2, 1762, he named it St. Peter's for the first time.⁵⁴ By November,

⁴⁷Perry, *op. cit.*, V, 89.

⁴⁸Conrad, *op. cit.*, p. 616.

⁴⁹Perry, *op. cit.*, V, 90.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, p. 96.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, p. 97.

⁵²*Ibid.*, 107.

⁵³*Ibid.*, p. 108.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, p. 111.

1764, plans were under way for the removal of Inglis to New York, and although the Duck Creek Church had so far progressed as to be glazed, the thought of a long period of inactivity when the church would have no missionary filled the congregation with dismay:

“The Congregation at Duck Creek declared they would lay aside all Thought of finishing their Church if I removed tho’ the windows are now glazed.”⁵⁵

Judge Conrad is in error in saying that the church was dedicated on Trinity Sunday, 1764, under the rectorship of Samuel Magaw. Magaw did not come to Dover and Duck Creek until 1767, and Charles Inglis wrote on August 27, 1765: “The new Church of St. Peter at Duck Creek will be opened next Month.”⁵⁶

THE DOVER CHURCH

The original church at Dover was on the glebe farm to the southeast of the present town, and was being built when Crawford arrived there. It was used during his period of activity in Church affairs, and George Ross preached there about a year or so after Henderson had found the town so inhospitable. When George Frazer arrived in November, 1733, however, he began preaching in the court house because the old board church was in such ruinous condition, and was out of the center of things, for the town had been laid out in the meantime.⁵⁷ He immediately began a subscription list and succeeded in raising £100; by the following winter the walls were high enough for the roof to be put on. Unfortunately the builder died and the work was postponed. Arthur Ussher, who succeeded Frazer, wrote on October 27, 1740, that the church in Dover was finished,⁵⁸ yet a year later he wrote that he hoped it would be finished soon.⁵⁹ When Hugh Neill arrived in November, 1750, he reported that the “Dover Church is in a miserable condition. It looks more like a refuge for Wild Beasts than a House dedicated to ye service of God. They have contributed toward the repairing of it, which I hope will be finished in the

⁵⁵Lydekker, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, p. 44. This church continued in use until 1827 when it was torn down and the present church built in the town of Smyrna. Vide *Journal of the Diocese of Delaware*, 1828.

⁵⁷Hotchkiss, *op. cit.*, p. 238; Gibson: *Hist. Church Dover*, p. 14; Perry, *op. cit.*, V, 2.

⁵⁸Perry, *op. cit.*, V, 77.

⁵⁹Dr. Gibson (*vide supra*) says Dover Church was started in 1744, but this date does not agree with those given above. I believe the earlier date is correct.

Spring."⁶⁰ Hugh Neill remained there from 1750 to 1756, and Charles Inglis succeeded him in 1759, yet upon his arrival he found the church had no glass, it had not been plastered, had no ceiling, door, or window shutters, and yet Hugh Neill had held services in that church and even had had evening meetings in winter time. Certainly the congregations had greater regard for their spiritual health than they had for their physical. By May 10, 1760, Inglis could report that the church was finished and had a pulpit cloth, cushion, a bell, "etc, &c."⁶¹ No further changes or additions to Dover Church are noted, and it seems to have stood in very much the same condition until after the Revolution.

Only the nave of the present church is original. The porch, chancel, and sacristy are additions—and I might add, very happy additions, for they have kept the quaint atmosphere of the old church and yet have brought it into conformity with a more elaborate service than was possible under the original arrangement. The main entrance was once at the south side in place of the present middle window. Windows were oblong with flat lintels and were covered with shutters. Entering from the south, one saw a nearly square church with galleries running across the west end and south side. The stairway was at the northwest corner—as was true in Prince George's, St. George's and Broad Creek churches. The south gallery in Dover was lighted by a window in the east end of the gallery.

Pews were high with doors, arranged in blocks without a middle aisle, with the seats around three sides as at Broad Creek. Like Appoquinimy the altar was at the east end over which was a high Palladian window. The pulpit with its sounding board and clerk's desk was on the north wall. As late as 1786 Benjamin Crooks was receiving 50 shillings a year to serve as clerk. The aisles were bricked and no means was provided to heat the building.

SUSSEX COUNTY CHURCHES

Of the colonial churches in Sussex only Broad Creek, Dagsboro, and St. George's remain. The colonial churches at Mispillion, Cedar Creek, Lewes, "in the Forest," have all disappeared.⁶² The Broad Creek Church is in good state of preservation. Dagsboro, once a T-shaped building of wood with galleries on three sides of the nave and in the transepts, and with a high pulpit and fan window in the east end,

⁶⁰Perry, *op. cit.*, V, 96.

⁶¹SPG MSS, B, 21, 139.

⁶²See chapter IV for Becket's description of the original churches in Sussex.

is reduced to a fragment of what it once was. Nevertheless one can see that the workmanship by modern standards was crude.

St. George's Chapel likewise has been considerably changed from its original appearance. The old brick work remains about the base of the building and the gallery at the west end shows what the workmanship once was, but in the latter quarter of the last century it was decided to "gothicise" the old building. The walls were reduced in height and a high peaked roof was installed. The north and south galleries were removed, although the floor still shows the piers upon which the pillars stood. The east end now has three mediocre colored glass windows, but the wall shows the outline of the full Palladian windows which once filled the altar end of the church. Older members of the congregation still remember the old pulpit as being as high as the gallery. Marks of the old high pews remain. Some little distance to the west of the church in the midst of the woods, there is quite a pile of old brick burned into one mass. Tradition has it that the bricks for the chapel were made there. Parishioners would gather on a given day for brickmaking, and the story goes that one day the refreshments of rum flowed too freely and the pile of useless bricks remains as testimony to the fact.

VESTMENTS AND USAGES

That the holy table would be covered with "a decent carpet" was taken for granted, and the pulpit rail was covered with a rich damask or velvet material wherever possible. Cushions of the same material were provided for the manuscript in the pulpit. The New Castle pulpit and altar cloths were the gift of Queen Anne,⁶³ and John Andrews wrote on April 12, 1769, that the Lewes Church had an "elegant pulpit cloth cushion, a Desk cloth &c of crimson silk Damask."⁶⁴ St. Anne's, Middletown, has a remnant of a satin altar cloth from the original Appoquinimy Church embroidered with the royal monogram which is traditionally described as being embroidered by the queen herself. The Lewes Church also has a remnant of crimson velvet which was part of the altar carpet of the old church. We have already noted that Col. Gookin gave a "Damask table cloth & napkins" to the New Castle Church.⁶⁵ Thomas Crawford asked for and received a pulpit cloth and surplice (not to exceed £10) from the Society.⁶⁶

⁶³Perry, *op. cit.*, V, 17.

⁶⁴Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

⁶⁵Holcomb, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

⁶⁶Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

Surplices were regularly in use in most places but did not meet with approval in every church. George Ross was quite perturbed to find that the surplice which he had just gotten after much financial difficulty was stolen shortly after he began using it.⁶⁷ Pastor Acrelius noted that, while the English would tolerate a surplice, they could not be reconciled to a chasuble to which he was accustomed.⁶⁸ It is usually thought that cassocks and gowns which were regularly in use were always black in color, yet Acrelius says they were black, blue or gray, "as time and circumstances require."⁶⁹

No objection was raised to exorcism as used in the Swedish baptismal rite, but the singing of the creed seemed strange to the English, "as their church retains the custom only with choral music in the cathedrals."⁷⁰

Acrelius noticed other differences between the two uses. While the Swedish custom was for the minister to cast on earth at the committal in the burial office, the English sexton always cast three shovel-fulls of earth at that place in the service. He found it difficult to accustom himself to churches where the crucifix, images, pictures, and even the corpus on the burial pall,⁷¹ were "not to be talked of," much less used.

"But something peculiar is to be seen among the English at the laying of the foundation stone of a church. On the 9th of May, 1715, Pastor Sandel was invited to attend the laying of the foundation stone of Radnor Church, sixteen miles from Philadelphia. First, a service with preaching was held in a private house; then they went in procession to the place where the church was to be built. There a prayer was made; after which each one of the clergymen laid a stone according to the direction of the master mason."⁷²

Both morning and evening prayer seem to have been the rule on Sundays. Litany days were the occasion for preaching in the country sections of each parish.⁷³ The communion was always administered at the three great feasts and more frequently by some men. Preaching played an important part in the services of the day, but it is unfortunate that not a single sermon from colonial Delaware has been located.

⁶⁷Perry, *op. cit.*, V, 75. From 1759 to 1761 surplices cost £117, but were only washed three times a year! See *Worcester Parish Register*, pp. 137, 146, 181.

⁶⁸Acrelius, *op. cit.*, p. 359.

⁶⁹*Ibid.* See also Lydekker, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

⁷⁰*Ibid.*

⁷¹Immanuel Church, New Castle had a pall from 1719 under the will of Richard Halliwell. (Holcomb, *op. cit.*, p. 93.)

⁷²Acrelius, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

⁷³Holcomb, *op. cit.*, p. 94-5.

CHAPTER VIII

CHURCHMEN AND EDUCATION

WE must not expect to find well organized systems of schools in the colonial period, for here were a group of people of small financial means hacking out a living in a primitive land. Their first struggle would be for mere existence. Education and culture are dependent in part, at least, upon a certain amount of wealth which will allow for leisure time in which to cultivate refinement. Under the primitive conditions which the first settlers endured, it is much to their credit that we find them interested in any sort of education.

In spite of these difficulties the Dutch, who first came to the shores of the Delaware, bestirred themselves to provide for the instruction of their children. In 1656 when the control of all the land south of the Christina was given to the City of Amsterdam, one of the conditions of the transfer was that both church and school should be provided for, and that the schoolmaster's salary should provisionally be supplied by the city. The following year Evert Pietersen arrived with a company of immigrants and set up a school, probably in his own lodgings. He remained about two years and usually had a school of about twenty-five pupils.¹ Probably his short stay accomplished little of a permanent nature, for Acrelius seems to have no knowledge of him. The Swedes also gave some attention to the education of their children, and usually had a schoolmaster who combined his duties with those of clerk, reader, psalm setter, and in some cases of bell-ringer and sexton.²

INITIAL ENGLISH PROVISIONS FOR EDUCATION

Such was the background of education which the English found among the original settlers when they took over the colonies along the Delaware. In setting up a government for the territories, the duke of York's laws of 1676 made definite provisions for the education of children and apprentices, specifically stating that

"The Constable and Overseers are strictly required frequently to Admonish the Inhabitants of Instructing their Chil-

¹Wickersham, James P., *A History of Education in Pennsylvania, private and public, elementary and higher. From the time the Swedes settled on the Delaware to the present day* (Lancaster, Pa.: Inquirer Publishing Company, 1886) p. 8 ff.

²Acrelius, *op. cit.*, pp. 219, 270, 303, 351; Burr, *op. cit.*, pp. 69, 78, 79, 122, 134, 422-4, 432; Clay, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

dren and Servants in matters of Religion, and the Lawes of the Country And that Parents and Masters do bring up their Children and Apprentices in some honest Lawfull Calling, Labour or Employment."

These same laws provided "That in every Parish within this Government a Church be built in the most Convenient part thereof, Capable to receive and accommodate two Hundred Persons."

When William and Mary came to the English throne, a provision was incorporated into the charter of New York providing for the appointment of a schoolmaster by the minister, elders and deacons of the church, but no such provision seems to have been enacted in the Delaware territories.³ These regulations seem to have been observed more in their breach than in their fulfillment, although the *New Castle Court Record* does have some cases of apprentices suing their master for their failure to provide instruction in reading and writing.

On December 3, 1678, the New Castle court ordered that a lot 60 feet broad be laid out in the town for a school, but there is no record of the court order having been carried out.⁴ On the other hand, there were some parents and masters who must have taken their obligations seriously, even in this early stage of our history. On March 12, 1678-9, Edward Draughton sued Dunck Williams in the Upland Court for 200 gilders which had been promised him for teaching the Williams children to read the Bible. That one case could get into court for failure to pay a private tutor seems sufficient evidence that such tutors were an accepted method of educating the young. For every parent who was negligent in paying his just debts there must have been scores who left no such record.

By the time George Ross arrived in New Castle, parents had worked out a system which, while it must have been far from satisfactory, was certainly cheaper than private tutors. He wrote:

"There are some private schools within my reputed district which are put very often into the hands of those who are brought into the country & sold for servants. Some schoolmasters are hired by the year, by a knot of Families, who, in their turns, entertain him monthly, & the poor man lives in their Houses like one that begged an alms, more than like a person in credit & authority. When a ship arrives in the River, it is a common expression with those who stand in need of an Instructor for their children—Let us go & buy a School Master. The truth is, the office & character of such a person is generally very mean and contemptible here, & it cannot be other ways untill the public

³Wickersham, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

⁴*New Castle Record*, A, 342.

takes the Education of children into their mature consideration.''⁵

The Rev. William Becket likewise described the efforts of the Sussex County settlers to provide an education for their children:

" . . . and there is no public school in all the County, the general custom being, for what they call a neighborhood (which lies sometimes 4 or 5 miles distant, one part from another) to hire a person for a certain sum and term to teach their children to read and write English, for whose accommodation they meet together at a place agreed upon, cut down a number of trees and build a log house in a few hours, (as illustrious as that in which Pope Sixtus Quintus was born) whither they send their children every day during the term for it ought to be observed by way of commendation of the American Planters nowadays, that whatever pains or charge it may cost, they seldom omit to have their children instructed in Reading & writing the English Tongue.'"⁶

Under such conditions the missionaries of the S. P. G. began their ministry. People were interested in the education of their children, although Episcopalians were perhaps not so interested as some other people.⁷

EDUCATIONAL POLICY OF THE S. P. G.

The clergy of the Church of England were nearly all university trained men and looked upon education as an integral part of their work as pastors. The Society soon after its incorporation drew up a set of instructions for its missionaries which outlined the methods to be used in the missions. All of these instructions included education in reading at least, in order that the congregations might be able to understand the scriptures and the catechism, but the Society expected that the clergy should be occupied with teaching the Christian religion and leave the education of children in the common subjects to others. With this in mind the Society instructed them to "encourage the setting up Schools for the teaching of Children; and particularly by the Widows of such Clergy-Men as shall die in those Countries, if they be found capable of that Employment."⁸

⁵Perry, *op. cit.*, V, 43.

⁶Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

⁷Mulhern, James, *A History of Secondary Education in Pennsylvania*, published by author, Philadelphia, 1933. Dr. Mulhern is of the opinion that "In Pennsylvania the Quakers, Presbyterians, Moravians, Episcopalians, Lutherans and Reformed were most active educationally, and in about the order indicated," p. 9. He does not appear, however, to know anything of the work of "The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge among the Germans of Pennsylvania," an Anglican project. This might affect his order of importance.

⁸See Appendix I for full list of Instructions to the Clergy.

PAROCHIAL LIBRARIES AND BOOKS

One of the first means of increasing educational facilities in Delaware was the erecting of parochial libraries by the Society, for books were few and expensive, and libraries were non-existent. Dr. Thomas Bray, appointed commissary of the bishop of London for Maryland in 1696, early found that Church of England clergy were not anxious to volunteer for missionary work in the New World because of the lack of libraries. He realized that the few parsons who did volunteer were too poor to buy libraries, and without books any clergyman soon deteriorates. Consequently he organized his "Associates," who provided libraries for nearly fifty parishes. In all the Associates of Dr. Bray sent upwards of 34,000 books into the colonies. Even earlier Bray was the leading spirit in founding the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.⁹ It was natural, therefore, that the S. P. G. should make some provision for books for its missionaries.

Two grants were made to the missionaries. The first of £10 was for a parochial library which was to be housed under the missionaries' care and which was to be used as a lending library. The second grant of £5 was for books and tracts for distribution. Prior to 1728, £300 worth of tracts were distributed by the missionaries in Pennsylvania and Delaware, and 200 volumes of bound books were sent into the province,¹⁰ but the Society was not the only donor of books to the missionaries. Individual bishops also sent gifts. The Rev. George Ross wrote in 1737 to thank not only the Society but the lord bishop of Raphoe in Ireland for sending a box full of Bibles, Common Prayer Books, and small tracts of devotion "to be distributed among the poor Irish."¹¹

The books distributed were first of all Bibles, Prayer Books and catechisms. This was to be expected, and although William Bradford in Philadelphia published an edition of the Book of Common Prayer as early as 1710, William Becket had no knowledge of it. In 1722 he wrote to the Society:

"We are in very great want of Common Prayer Books and Church Catechisms none being to be got for Money here and I

⁹Dr. Bray is so well known in colonial Church circles as to be the subject of a bibliography which would run into several hundred items. A number of articles concerning him and his work are to be found in the *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* in several volumes. Dr. E. L. Pennington's essay in *Church Historical Society Publication VII* (Philadelphia, 1934) gives a good summary; also, No. 14, by J. W. Lydekker and F. J. Klingberg.

¹⁰Humphreys, *op. cit.*, Ch. I.

¹¹*SPG Minutes* in Ch. Hist. Soc., p. 27.

could beg the favor of a Cambridge Concordance from the Society I should be extremely thankful having no such book.'¹²

He received this box of books in October 1723.¹³

Not all the books were of such prosaic character, however. We have seen how Becket requested a subscription to a newspaper published in Philadelphia "by one Mr. Franklin."¹⁴ Many of the books and tracts were of a controversial nature. In 1723 George Ross requested two or three dozen copies of Bishop King's *Concerning the Invention of Men* to help him combat the Presbyterians.¹⁵ This little tract of some twenty pages (the paging differs in different editions) emphasizes the divine nature of the commands to baptize and communicate, and that these are not "inventions of men" but rather of divine origin. It must have had a rather wide circulation, for the sixth, as well as some earlier printings of it, is extant.

Most of the books listed are expositions of the Scriptures, the Creeds, the 39 Articles, or Church history. Some were of a more polemic nature like Comber's *of Ordination*, Lettlewell *on the Sacrament*, Bennett *against Popery*, Lesly *against the Quakers*, and Stillingfleet *Unreasonableness of Separation*. Still others were of a more devotional and mystical character. Among this group are included Bishop Andrews' *Devotions*, Horneck's *Happy Ascetic* and Taylor's *Holy Living and Holy Dying*. Considering the sharp lines drawn between the Church and the dissenters in those days, one would expect to find none but churchmen listed as authors of the books included in these libraries, yet Jonathan Edwards' *Against the Socinians* and Grotius' *de Veritate Christ Religione* were included.¹⁶ All in all, the libraries were reasonably complete working libraries for a parish priest. These books were part of the £10 parish library, but the Bibles and Prayer Books were those more usually distributed among the parishioners. All of the clergy mention that distribution was necessary because of the high cost of importing them for sale.

The parish libraries were under the care of the clergy, and some were taken care of better than others. When the Rev. Thomas Bluett arrived in Dover there were twenty-four volumes in the library,¹⁷ but when the Rev. Hugh Neill left only fourteen volumes could be found, and even then some additions must have been made to the library, for a number of volumes are named which do not occur in the list found

¹²Perry, *Collections*, II, 126.

¹³*Ibid.*, V, 39.

¹⁴Chapter IV.

¹⁵Perry, *Collections*, V, 38.

¹⁶A full list of the books provided in 1788 will be found in Appendix II.

¹⁷SPG MSS, B, 15, 211.

by Bluett.¹⁸ Books usually stray because some borrower likes the work so much that he wants it for ready reference—borrowing usually means an interest in books. In addition to this interest, all the missionaries report favorable response after distributing tracts, whether they were on the necessity of infant baptism or against drunkenness.

Miss Hawkins¹⁹ must be taken with a grain of salt, therefore, when she says:

“The Three Lower Counties evidently had small concern either with the writing of books or with reading them. In fact, there is almost no evidence of any literary interest among the inhabitants of Delaware before the middle of the eighteenth century, except that Evan’s *American bibliography* has recorded the existence of a bookseller in New Castle in 1724 named W. Read. There was no printing press and no printer in Delaware prior to 1761. Indeed, with the exception of Georgia, printing began later in Delaware than in any of the thirteen original states.”

It is perfectly true that printing did not appear in Delaware until relatively late, but when one considers that an inhabitant of Lewes at the southern end of the Territories might sail to Philadelphia, the political and social center of the colonies, in fifteen hours,²⁰ there is little reason to infer that the whole of the Three Counties was entirely backward. Naturally the facilities of that city would be used by the people along the Delaware, and the libraries and tracts of the Society would supplement those contacts. The Society also provided books and tracts for the Swedes as well as for the English.²¹

PREACHING AND CATECHIZATION

In addition to providing parish libraries and books for distribution among their flocks, the clergy of course preached sermons which had for their purpose the instruction of the hearers in religion and morals. The Society’s instructions for the clergy in their employ stated:

IV. That the chief Subjects be the great Fundamental Principles of Christianity, and the Duties of a sober, righteous, and godly Life, as resulting from those Principles.

¹⁸SPG MSS, B, 21, 141.

¹⁹Hawkins, Dorothy Lawson, “James Adams, the first printer of Delaware” in *Bibliographical Society of America, Paper XXVIII*, pt. 1, pp. 28-63.

²⁰Aletta Clarke’s Book in Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 355, records that on September 1, 1790 she left Lewes Creek at 1 P. M. and arrived in Philadelphia at 4 the next morning.

²¹Acrelius and Burr have many references to this activity by the S. P. G.

V. That they particularly preach against those Vices, which they shall observe to be Predominant in the Places of their Residence.

VI. That they carefully instruct the People concerning the Nature and Use of the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's-Supper, as the peculiar Institutions of Christ, Pledges of Communion with him, and Means of deriving Grace from him.²²

But this was not enough if the congregations were to take their part in the ordinary services of the Church. The Anglican services of matins and evensong require responsive reading of the psalms as part of the ordinary service, and the Rev. Thomas Crawford found early in his ministry at Dover that it was necessary for him to instruct the congregations in reading of the psalms before he could conduct his services properly.²³

The ordinary means of instructing in Church doctrine, however, was by means of the catechism. Catechization is an oral method primarily employing questions and answers, and has been used from apostolic times for imparting Christian knowledge. At the Reformation it received new impetus in that every reformed church published its own formulas for instruction of the young. The Church of England from 1549 had included a catechism of necessary doctrine to be learned by those preparing for confirmation. The 1662 Book of Common Prayer added to this original catechism and separated it from the confirmation office, and although confirmation was not available in the colonies because of the lack of bishops, nevertheless the clergy used the catechism as a basis for their doctrinal instruction. The Society made this instruction one of its standing orders for the clergy employed by them.²⁴ All of the clergy in their semi-annual reports refer to regular catechetical sessions. In addition to this, some of the clergy gave their scholars psalms to learn.²⁵

Yet we must not fall into the error of thinking that the catechetical classes were mere routine matters of learning and repeating by rote. Ross and several of the missionaries wrote that they catechized by "Dr. Beveridge's Method." Dr. William Beveridge was bishop of St. Asaph in Wales and a member of the Society. His writings were prolific, and all consist of a body of theology typical of the Caroline divines, that is to say, a theology characterized by a strong

²²*A Collection of Papers printed by Order of the Society, op. cit.*, p. 27.

²³Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

²⁴*A Collection of Papers printed by Order of the Society, op. cit.*, pp. 27-8.

²⁵"I catechise the Children before the Sermon all the summer—cold weather I don't . . ." (Perry, *op. cit.*, V, 17). "On every Friday afternoon he [Lyon] catechizes the children at Lewes & hears them repeat portions of the Psalms, which he gives them to learn every week." (Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 222.)

Catholic tradition purged of its medieval Roman accretions. His works fill twelve volumes in the Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology. Volume VIII is his catechism. Actually it is a catechism on the catechism of the Prayer Book, broken down into short answers and questions, which are easier to remember but which cover the same material as the Church catechism. In addition to this, each question is followed by a short discussion which brings out the meaning of the answer. His method required not only memorization of the text, but a reading knowledge of the explanation. The Society included his catechism as one among many tracts distributed by the missionaries. A reading of the list of tracts supplied by the Society will show that this was one among many catechisms used at that time.

At the present day many educators decry the use of the catechetical method, stressing the fact that an understanding of the subject is of greater importance than the rote learning of definite statements of fact. However, the Church is committed to teaching certain facts as revealed truth. It believes that there can be no more question concerning these truths than there can be that two and two are four. It believes that these facts are essential to a right understanding of the nature of the Christian religion, and it realized that repetition is a necessary concomitant of learning. It is quite probable, therefore, that the Church will still be using the catechetical method when the experiential methods of today have been superseded by some still more modern method.

EVANGELIZATION OF THE NEGRO

The clergy were also entrusted with the responsibility of teaching the Christian religion to Negro slaves and the Indians. By the time the missionaries arrived in Delaware, very few Indians remained and this never became an important part of their educational function. There were, however, many Negroes, and the clergy were vitally interested in their evangelization.²⁶

It has already been pointed out²⁷ that the clergy's greatest difficulty was in the matter of baptisms, because of the legal and social implications. The clergy attempted to overcome these scruples and

²⁶An excellent bibliographical study of the whole Negro problem in colonial Pennsylvania and Delaware is to be found in Dr. Frank J. Klingberg's article "The African Immigrant in Colonial Pennsylvania and Delaware" in *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, XI (June, 1942) pp. 126-152.

²⁷Chapter VII, above.

the bishop of London's *Letter*²⁸ on that subject was one of the most widely distributed tracts used by the missionaries.

The bishop observes that, inasmuch as he is supposed to have the oversight of the colonial churches, he has taken an opportunity to look into the question of the evangelization of the Negro slaves, and is distressed to find that not only was comparatively little done in some places to Christianize them, but that there were some who actually hindered the work. He discusses and disposes of several arguments raised by those who object to instructing slaves. Even though adults and unaccustomed to English speech, he thinks that if they can learn anything, they can learn the fundamentals of the Faith. For their children there is no such excuse, and Christian masters ought to see to their instruction. He dismisses the question of time for such instruction by saying: “. . . this is in Effect to say, that no Consideration of propagating the Gospel of God, or Saving the Souls of Men, is to make the *least Abatement* from the temporal Profit of the Masters . . .,” and then sets about to castigate such an idea. He likewise points out that the argument that Christian instruction makes the slave less governable is false, for the Christian message is one of obedience, humility, gentility, compassion, and the like. On the question of freedom as resulting from baptism the bishop says:

“The Freedom Christianity gives, is a Freedom from the Bondage of Sin and Satan, and from the Dominion of Men's Lusts and Passions and inordinate Desires; but as to their *outward* Condition, whatever it was before, whether bond or free, their being baptiz'd, and becoming Christians, makes no manner of Change in it: . . .”

With the encouragement of the bishop of London, the clergy in the territories were quite active in catechizing and preparing for baptism among the slave element of their parishes. In 1712 George Ross catechized the baptized Negroes in Church each Sunday afternoon,²⁹ and he wrote to the Society after distributing Bishop Gibson's *Letters*:

“ . . . If fair and close reasoning can remove the prejudices of men against admitting of negroes into the Church, 'tis not

²⁸The full title is *Two Letters of the Lord Bishop of London* [Edmund Gibson]: *The First, To the Masters and Mistresses of Families in the English Plantations abroad; Exhorting them to Encourage and Promote the Instruction of their Negroes in the Christian Faith. The Second, To the Missionaries there; Directing them to distribute the said Letter, and Exhorting them to give their Assistance towards the Instruction of the Negroes within their several Parishes* (London, printed by Joseph Downing, in Bartholomew Close, near West-Smithfield, M, DCC, XXVII).

²⁹SPG MSS, A, 7, 508.

doubted but his Lordship's pious endeavour will have the desired effect. . . . It shall be my care to soften and prepare people's minds, candidly and impartially to peruse, Lordship's seasonable as well as great performance."³⁰

Although the numbers do not seem great at any one time, every missionary reports the baptism of one or more Negroes in his semi-annual *Notitia Parochialis*, and all of them presumably were instructed over quite a long period of time before that sacrament was administered. I have not made a careful notation of every slave baptism in the colonial period, but on the basis of these *Notitia* I estimate that no fewer than 500 Negroes were instructed and baptized by the missionaries within the confines of the present state of Delaware.

SCHOOLMASTERS AND CLERICAL TUTORING

The S. P. G. not only provided ministers for parishes, but also sent school masters to many places. Both Philadelphia and Chester had such masters throughout the period under discussion. That these schools were used by Delaware folk is seen from that fact that William Becket's only son, a lad of twelve, was sent to Philadelphia to attend the school run under the auspices of the S. P. G. and Christ Church. New Castle made several requests that £6 be granted for the additional comfort of a schoolmaster, which seems to imply that a school was functioning there, and that this grant was asked that the man might have a more steady income.³¹

In 1768 the Rev. John Andrews wrote to the Society that

"Several attempts have been made in vain to establish a Grammar School at Lewes, because they could not furnish salary sufficient for a man duly qualified. . . ."³²

Dr. Charles H. B. Turner, in commenting on this letter, said that the Society agreed to make an allowance for a schoolmaster at Lewes, but the agreement was better in its intentions than in its accomplishments, for nothing was done.

We have seen that the Rev. Samuel Magaw had a project in mind whereby he and Asbury might unite in fostering an academy in Dover. Dr. Magaw's removal prevented him from being party³³ to the movement but John Coleman, who was to have been Magaw's usher, ran an academy there for several years.³³

³⁰May 17, 1728. *SPG MSS*, A, 21, 241.

³¹Perry, *op. cit.*, V, 30; V, 55; V, 47 ff.

³²Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

³³Powell, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

Despite the fact that these attempts to establish formal schools failed in the early period because of the financial strain they placed upon the few inhabitants, the clergy evidently were active in the educational field. All of them were well educated men. All of them were existing on small salaries, and probably all of them had one or more children under their instruction much of the time in order to augment their salaries. When George Ross left New Castle for Chester, one of the deciding factors was the possibility of getting several children for board and instruction to increase his stipend.³⁴ Likewise when he was in New Castle he wrote:

"Were it not for the benevolence and bounty of a certain Gentleman whose son I teach in the Latin tongue I could hardly live in the place so long."³⁵

Charles Inglis, while at Dover, was another parson who recorded his teaching activities (in this case arithmetic), but it is of interest that he did not report this work to the Society.³⁶ Nor was he the only parson to teach school and fail to report this portion of his work to the Society. In 1761 Hugh Neill established a classical school in Germantown, which he opened to all denominations, and in which he took five poor boys of "Genius, and moral character," without payment of fees.³⁷ Yet there is no indication in his letters to the Society of this time that he was engaged in this activity while he was serving the Oxford Church. Immediately after his removal from Lewes to York, John Andrews opened a classical school at that place, said by some to be the first classical school west of the Susquehanna.³⁸ Yet Andrews did not report this to the S. P. G. It may very well be, then, that these men were also engaged in educational activities while serving as missionaries in Delaware. The preponderance of evidence makes this appear very likely.

While these activities cannot be elevated to the status of permanent educational foundations, they undoubtedly filled two needs. They supplied instruction for the youth of the community, by competently trained men, for those children whose parents wanted to keep them home rather than send them to boarding schools in the more populous sections near the city. And, from the parson's standpoint, this instruction had several benefits. It provided a much needed

³⁴Chap. I.

³⁵Perry, *op. cit.*, V, 6.

³⁶*Vide supra*, p. 70.

³⁷*Penna. Gazette*, Jan. 29, 1761, 3.

³⁸Prowell, *Hist. York County*, I, 537.

source of income, and it also provided a point of contact, not only with his own parishioners, but also with the community at large, which is valuable for any minister in the ordinary function of his calling.

THE WILMINGTON ACADEMY

Probably the most outstanding accomplishment of Anglicans in the Delaware educational field was the Wilmington Academy, yet even this was not an Anglican monopoly. There is a certain amount of confusion concerning the origins of the academy, and there appears to be little source material which will cast light on the confusion. The academy building was erected in 1765 at Market Street, south of Ninth, on land which was probably given by a Swede by the name of Stalcop.³⁹ Whitefield recorded in 1764: "In the academy Woods at Wilmington I preached to 3,000 persons."⁴⁰

The first principal is listed as being Robert Patterson, who was an ardent patriot and instructed the pupils in military tactics. When Wilmington was occupied by the British in 1777, the academy building was used as a barrack and hospital. In all probability, therefore, it had to be rebuilt at the close of the war.⁴¹

Powell lists as the first trustees of the institution: Dr. Girelius, who was pastor of the Swedes Church; Bishop White of Pennsylvania; Thomas McKean, signer of the Declaration and prominent statesman; Dr. Robert Smith; Thomas Gilpin; Dr. Nicholas Way; and Joseph Shallcross. Three of these at least were Anglicans, and Girelius might also be considered within that group. Listing White as "Bishop" and as a member of the first board of trustees, looks very suspicious. Another point which must be taken into consideration is that every one of these men, with the possible exception of Girelius, came into prominence either during or immediately after the Revolution. At the time of their greatest prominence would be the natural time for them to be selected as trustees. On May 2 and May 22, 1786, two meetings were held "to promote the important cause of Religion, Morality and Literature."⁴² It seems that this may have been the occasion for revising the statutes of and reopening the school after having it closed

³⁹Powell, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

⁴⁰*Journal*.

⁴¹For comparative use of church buildings in Philadelphia during the British occupation, see Rightmyer, N. W., "Churches in Philadelphia under enemy occupation", *Church History*, XIV (March, 1945). An act of Congress in 1792 indemnified the trustees for damages suffered through occupation of the building by the army. See Anna T. Lincoln, *Three Centuries Under Four Flags* (Rutland, Vt., Tuttle Pub. Co., 1937) pp. 322-325.

⁴²Powell, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

throughout the British occupation. This would be the natural time for these men to become trustees. White, for example, was a bishop in 1787.

In 1784, three years before the Rev. Mr. White sailed for England to be consecrated bishop, he and others organized the Episcopal Academy in Philadelphia, and offered the post of principal to the Rev. Charles Henry Wharton, at that time rector of Immanuel Church, New Castle. Dr. Wharton declined the offer,⁴³ but two years later, when the Wilmington Academy came under his direction, the plan of organization was identical with that of the Episcopal Academy, organized two years before. It seems, then, that the Wilmington Academy was reorganized in 1786 with considerable Anglican influence, after having been closed during the latter part of the Revolutionary War.

The plan called for a principal who was to lecture on moral philosophy,⁴⁴ a professor of mathematics, a professor of languages, a professor of English, and a suitable number of ushers to assist in the instruction. Essays in both English and Latin were to be required.⁴⁵

The year began in November with Dr. Wharton as principal, and with Patrick Murdock as professor of languages. Dr. Girelius, John Dickinson, Dr. Nicholas Way, and Jacob Broom were appointed to elect a mathematics professor.

Cafeteria style education is not such a great innovation, for we find it in vogue in the Wilmington Academy. The English course, which included grammar, rhetoric, composition, reading, and penmanship, was offered at two guineas a year. Mathematics for the junior year included the rules of arithmetic, both "vulgar and decimal," four rules of algebra, methods of solving simple equations, Euclid's Book I, geography, and the use of globes. The senior year included Euclid, plain and spherical trigonometry, surveying and navigation, "principle also of Astronomy and the Newtonian System, the Solution of quadratic equations, and the principles of conic sections." These mathematical studies were 7s.6d. per quarter extra.

Five years of Latin studies were offered at six pounds a year, and under a *nota bene* it was stated that "The French Language will be taught if parents or guardians require it."

Under Dr. Wharton's direction the school seems to have flourished, but after he left in 1798 the academy slowly declined. A revision was attempted in 1803, but by 1832 the building was demolished.

⁴³Stowe, *Life and Letters of Bishop White*, pp. 61-63.

⁴⁴i. e., "Ethics and Natural Law."

⁴⁵Powell, *op. cit.*, 47.

Church schools have a place in the community if they are definitely Church schools and offer a program completely different from that of the public schools. The great fault of the Wilmington Academy was that while it had certain Church sponsorship, it could be and was displaced by a system of public education.

CHAPTER IX

THROUGH REVOLUTION TO INDEPENDENCE

IT is almost impossible to make any generalization with regard to the activities of the Church of England clergy or laity in the Lower Counties during the Revolutionary period because no two men seem to have reacted to events in exactly the same way and because conditions in the several congregations differed considerably.

DIVIDED SYMPATHY OF BOTH CLERGY AND LAITY

New Castle County was largely patriotic, Sussex and lower Kent were largely tory. In the upper part of the state, the clergy were more closely related to those in Revolutionary circles. In the lower part of the state, the Revolutionary party was more closely allied with the Presbyterians. In the manuscripts record of the Lewes Presbyterian Church we find evidence of this:

N. B. Indian River & Sacrament interrupted by certain Intelligence that the Tories would kidnap & send me to ye Enemy at New York for Exemplary Punishment.¹

On June 28, 1778, a child was baptized at the Lewes Presbyterian Church and the record reads:

Lewis Gates Waples, s. of Col. Nathaniel Do. N in Honour of Louis 16th as declared our Independence & generously sent us a Fleet &c. Gen Gates Conquor of Burgoyne, the Gen rather deserved the praise—He died young.²

The clergy of the Church of England found themselves in difficulties very early because of the oaths of allegiance to the King of England which were required at their ordinations.³ Another difficulty

¹Copy of the MS in the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

²*Ibid.*

³Not only had each Anglican priest, in the colonies as well as in England, promised faithfully at his ordination to use the liturgy, of which prayers for the king and the royal family were an obligatory part, but *twice*, once at his ordination to the diaconate and again to the priesthood, he had taken

The Oath of the King's Supremacy

I, A. B., do swear, that I do from my heart abhor, detest, and abjure, as impious and heretical, that damnable doctrine and position, That Princes excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, or any Authority of the See of Rome, may be deposed or murdered by their Subjects, or any other whatsoever. And I do declare, that no foreign Prince, Person, Prelate, State, or Potentate hath, or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, Ecclesiastical or Spiritual, within this Realm. *So help me God.*

This may be found in the ordinal of any English Prayer Book of 1775 or before; also, in William McGarvey, *Liturgiae Americanae* (Philadelphia, 1897) p. 423.

which must have governed them, even if only subconsciously, was that the most stable portion of their income came from the stipend of the Venerable Society in England. Any overt act on the part of the missionaries must have resulted in dismissal from the Society. At the time of the Revolution there were five clergymen in Delaware. Of these only Philip Reading was an Englishman, the rest were American born. Yet only Ross and Magaw can be considered as having been acceptable to the Revolutionary party at all times.⁴

No sharp distinctions can be made with respect to the Church of England laity either. Many churchmen were active in the Revolutionary cause, despite some of the reassuring letters sent to the Society by the missionaries. Yet many were loyalists, too. John Rodney and Luke Shields were wardens of St. Peter's Church, Lewes, from 1773 to 1777.⁵ The former was active in the Revolutionary cause; the latter was among those specifically excluded from the general pardon of 1778, and had his property confiscated.⁶ Others included in this list who were churchmen were Boaz Manlove, Simon Kollock, jr., Thomas Robinson, James Rench, and possibly a number of others.⁷ On the other hand, John Clowes (speaker of the state senate in 1779), Caesar Rodney, Thomas McKean (delegates to the Stamp Act Congress and signers of the Declaration of Independence), Thomas Rodney, Samuel Wharton, John Vining (among the delegates to the Continental Congress, 1774-1783) were probably all churchmen.⁸ It is evident, therefore, that no sharp line can be drawn as to the activities of churchmen as a whole in the conflict. Each man and each situation must be considered individually.

As early as 1702 the Lower Counties had begun to taste independence, for although they had the same governor as Pennsylvania they had their own legislature. Charles Inglis recorded in 1760 that the elections were riotous affairs, and that the "party spirit" contributed to the looseness of the populace for ". . . each Party, in order to ingratiate themselves with the Populace" invite them "to Public meetings, which are nothing but Scenes of Drunkenness and Debauchery."⁹ By preaching in the same place where the meetings were held, he did much to draw the better element from the political sessions.¹⁰

⁴Ross was born in New Castle; Magaw in Cumberland County, Pennsylvania; Tingley in New York; and Thorne in Virginia.

⁵*MSS Vestry Record.*

⁶Conrad, *op. cit.*, pp. 636-643.

⁷*Ibid.*

⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 257-8.

⁹Perry, *op. cit.*, V, 102.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, V, 103.

As the various steps were taken through which the nation became independent, Delaware not only acquiesced but also took an active part. Delegates were sent from the state to the Stamp Act Convention, non-importation agreements were enforced, pilots were threatened with tarring and feathering should they take ships into port,¹¹ relief funds were collected for the besieged populace of Boston, and representatives were sent to the first Continental Congress, but coercive measures were required to keep the majority of the Delawareans in line after July 4, 1776.¹²

CONDUCT OF THE DELAWARE CLERGY

In October, 1775, Philip Reading, Samuel Tingley and Samuel Magaw, joined with a number of other clergy in a joint letter to the bishop of London in which they stated that the clergy had found their situation very difficult, but that they had resolved to observe the general day of fast, June 20, 1775, with the hope that sensible men on both sides might make a speedy end to the difficulties.¹³ Since neither Magaw nor Tingley is reported as doing otherwise than as they had agreed, it may be presumed that they kept the fast day. Sydenham Thorne, who had not attended the meeting of the clergy,¹⁴ did not keep the day and was taken before the committee of correspondence of Kent County the following September.¹⁵ The results of the interview were not recorded, but in 1778 he wrote to the Society that he had been summoned before the committee four times and managed to extricate himself with no more difficulty than a little personal abuse.¹⁶

Philip Reading, however, was not one to keep himself aloof from politics. As early as March, 1775, he was writing to the Society:

"Many are the rebuffs I am obliged to encounter on the subject of the present commotions, notwithstanding which I am not deterred or discouraged from inculcating the principles of Loyalty to our most gracious Sovereign and a due submission to the Powers of Government on all proper occasions."¹⁷

¹¹Broadsides #47674 and #47799 in the Library Co. of Phila. "To the Delaware pilots. The regard we have for your characters and our desire to promote your future peace and safety, are the occasion for this third address to you . . . Phila. Dec. 7, 1773—the Committee for tarring and feathering."

¹²Hanock, Harold Bell, *The Delaware Loyalists* (Hist. Soc. Del., Wilmington, 1940) p. 4, ff.

¹³Perry, *op. cit.*, II, 480-1.

¹⁴This was technically a meeting of the Corporation for the Relief of Widows and Orphans, to which it appears Thorne did not belong.

¹⁵*Book of the Proceedings and Transactions of the Committee of Correspondence for Kent County* (MSS in Del. Hist. Soc. Library), Sept. 7, 1775, 31.

¹⁶Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 238.

¹⁷Perry, *op. cit.*, II, 469.

Little wonder that some people objected when the captain of the militia brought his company to church on the day of fasting "to hear that old wretch preach."¹⁸ After having "No more passive obedience and non resistance" scribbled on the church door, and finding that so many people objected to the prayers for the king and royal family, he closed his church on July 28, 1776, and while it was opened for other preachers, he never officiated in it for preaching services again. He did continue his pastoral ministry, for neither the baptismal, marriage, nor burial offices have state prayers.¹⁹

It was the matter of state prayers which made the situation so marked and so difficult for the clergy. The liturgy is not an individual, nor even a congregational, matter. It is given by authority and none have the authority of themselves to alter it, but the services of morning and evening prayer, the litany, and the holy communion all have prayers for rulers in which at that time they were mentioned specifically by name. Both their oath of allegiance at the time of their ordination and their hesitancy to make alterations in the liturgy forced the clergy into awkward positions.

Sydenham Thorne continued to use the king's name, even though threatened with loss of life, until 1777, when the state legislature passed the "Treason Law," which made such prayers a capital offense.²⁰ He then secured a reader who was not bound to read the state prayers, and his churches were kept open. Thorne himself continued to officiate at funerals and the like.²¹

Samuel Tingley at Lewes took upon himself the task of revising the prayers after the Declaration of Independence, even though he did not approve of the brethren in Philadelphia who "made such compliance as are utterly repugnant to the principles, which must necessarily be interwoven in the very heart, soul, & mind of a Churchman . . ." Instead of "O Lord save the King," he said, "O Lord, save those, whom Thou hast made it our especial duty to pray for."²² In this way he was able to keep his churches open, believing that if they were ever closed it would be more difficult to get them open again.

There is no record as to the manner in which Samuel Magaw met the problem, but we have seen in discussing Dover and the Methodists

¹⁸Perry, *op. cit.*, II, 481-2.

¹⁹*Vide* Chapter III, *supra*. Judge Conrad calls him "a young Englishman." He was 58 at his death.

²⁰Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 238.

²¹*Ibid.*

²²*Ibid.*, p. 239.

that he did regularly hold services throughout the troublesome period and that he was familiar with the leaders in the Revolution.

Aeneas Ross was the brother of George Ross, the signer of the Declaration of Independence, and of John Ross, the husband of Betsy Ross of flag fame. He, too, omitted the state prayers in the liturgy but permitted an itinerant Methodist preacher to give them from the pulpit immediately before the sermon, which is a strange performance to say the least.²³ For some reason there are few letters from New Castle covering this period.²⁴

Although travel was restricted for those suspected or accused of disaffection, Tingley and Thorne appear to have been given sufficient leeway to perform their clerical functions. Tingley said that he traveled over 3000 miles a year throughout Sussex and the neighboring counties of Maryland each year from 1776 to 1782.²⁵ However, when he applied for permission to go to New York in 1780, this was denied him, and it was not until the election of John Dickinson as governor of Delaware that Tingley finally received permission to visit his family in New York.²⁶

Thorne, on the other hand, was given permission to visit New York for the clergy convention of October 5, 6, 7, 1778, even though he had had his difficulties with the local committee of safety. Possibly the difference lay in the fact that Tingley had connections in New York and Thorne did not. Had Thorne wanted to go down into Virginia, it might have been a different story. There is no record of Magaw or Ross having any troubles about traveling.

The Society continued the salaries of the missionaries until 1783, but by that time only Thorne remained in Delaware. Tingley went to Virginia, Magaw to Philadelphia, Ross and Reading were dead. Parson Thorne had considerable wealth of his own, so the lack of the Society's stipend did not affect him very much. The new men who came into Delaware had never been beneficiaries of the Society, and the vestries of the several churches made their own arrangements with them. Where churches continued to function, this was accomplished by doubling up cures. All of the churches of Sussex, for example, contributed to the living for John Wade and Stephen Sykes, and agreed to have services in each church every six weeks in rotation.²⁷

²³*Vide supra*, Chapter I.

²⁴Ross died in 1782; perhaps ill health accounts for this lack.

²⁵Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

²⁶*Ibid.*

²⁷*MSS Vestry Record* of St. Peter's Church, Lewes, June 30, 1790.

TITLES TO CHURCH PROPERTY

One of the first tasks undertaken as a result of the Revolution by churchmen in Delaware, was the securing of the titles to the lands of their churches, graveyards, and glebe farms. In the beginning of the Church in Delaware some of the churches had been erected upon what were considered crown lands. The land of the New Castle and Lewes churches fell under this category, for churchmen felt that inasmuch as the king owned the land, no one had better right to its use than the Church of England. So George Ross wrote in his letter of 1727 telling of the founding of the New Castle parish:

"In the middle of the Town lies a spacious Green, in form of a Square, in a corner whereof stood formerly a Fort, & on the Ground whereon the said Citadel was built, they agreed to erect their church, from a persuasion that, as it belonged to their sovereign, it was not in the power of any of their troublesome neighbors to disturb them in their commendable undertaking." ²⁸

In other cases the land had been purchased by subscriptions of the congregations or by gifts from individuals. The glebe bought for William Becket is an example of the former and the land of Appoquinimy Church an example of the latter. It was this land, which had been bought or given, which first brought the question of ecclesiastical lands before the legislators of the Lower Counties. Gifts and purchases of land were usually made in the name of one or more persons, and the names appeared in the title deeds, the presumption being that the lands were held in trust. There were cases, however, where through death or through change in religious persuasion, those whose names appeared in the titles or their heirs claimed the land in fee simple.²⁹ I suspect that Becket's farm may have been one of these cases, for the land was bought for him as pastor of the churches in Sussex in order to keep him from going to a more lucrative place. When he died in 1743, he willed the farm to two of his daughters.³⁰

Within one year of Becket's death a new law was passed which would prevent this from happening. An *Act for the enabling religious societies of Protestants within this government, to purchase lands for burying-grounds, churches, houses of worship, schools, &c.* (17 George II) especially provides that trustees hold the property for the religious societies alone and for no other benefit. Most of the church lands were held under this provision, although some, like New Castle, merely held their lands by possession, without title. New Castle rectified

²⁸Holcomb, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

²⁹*Laws of the State of Delaware*, pp. 271 ff.

³⁰*Vide supra*, Chapter IV.

this on June 13, 1772, when the General Assembly passed a bill vesting the market square of that town in four sets of trustees, one set being for the church.

The Trustee Act had not provided for the election of the trustees by the congregations themselves. This was remedied after the Revolution by the passage on February 3, 1787, of an act providing for the incorporation of all religious societies.³¹ This act provided for the election of trustees by the congregation, and for the incorporation of the society according to such rules as it should draw up. As a result of this act, such minutes of churches as are still available contain items such as the following:

At a Meeting of several of the Congregation of Saint Peter's Church on the 18th of July 1789 the following persons were Elected Trustees to said Congregation agreeable to an Act of General Assembly, by the Name of the Trustees of Saint Peters Episcopal Church viz. John Wiltbank Esq. Messrs Anderson Parker, Reece Woolf, John Russel, Philips Kollock, Hap Harrod and George Parker.³²

Dagsberry Church—June 26th, 1790 At a Meeting of the Parishioner's (*sic*) for Choosing persons to Act as Trustees Agreeable to an Act of the Ginnaral Assembly of the Delaware State Resolved, that five persons be Chose as Trustees for this Parrish to Serve untill Next Easter Sunday and from that Time untill a New Appointment is made;

They then proceeded to the Choice agreeable to the Above Resolution—Elisha Cottingham, William Waples of P. Neck; Samuel Lockwood, Joseph Dirickson, & George Mitchell were unanimously elected:—

Resolved, that at the next Annual Election to be holden on or about Easter for Choosing Wardens & Vestrymen for the Parrish five Trustees shall be Appointed to Serve for one year or untill others are Appointed, and that a New Appointment in like Manner shall be made Annually forever—³³

It may be presumed that all the churches in the new state of Delaware made similar provisions for the safeguarding of their property. The records of New Castle and St. George's Chapel, Indian River Hundred, have similar provisions. Delaware did not experience either a loss of property through disestablishment as in Virginia, nor through the change in religious principles as was the case in King's Chapel, Boston. Some property once in the hands of the Church has been lost,³⁴ but these defections occurred in the nineteenth century.

³¹*Laws of the State of Delaware*, pp. 878 ff.

³²*Vestry Minutes MSS* under that date.

³³*Dagsboro Vestry Minutes MSS* under that date.

³⁴St. Matthew's, Cedar Creek; St. Johnsbury and St. Mary's and Grace, Baltimore Mills, all in Sussex; as well as some Kent and New Castle lands.

REPRESENTATION OF THE LAITY

Delaware, like Pennsylvania, has always given the laity a large part in the conduct of the churches. In some respects this seems strange, for Penn's charter was peculiar in that it alone of all colonial charters or patents gave the right of *advowson* to the bishop of London.³⁵ This right was exercised during the lifetime of Bishop Compton, through whose efforts this clause was inserted in Penn's charter, but his successor took the minimizing viewpoint and looked upon his power as no more than a licensing authority. With the beginning of the S. P. G., most congregations were content to accept the appointee of the bishop of London and of the Society, but under Bishop Gibson³⁶ congregations began to have the power of nomination for their own parishes. As the congregations became more settled and less dependent upon the financial support of the Society, and as local men began to present themselves for holy orders, this right of nomination was exercised more and more. In this way the laity gradually became ready to assume responsibilities for government in the new situation after the Revolution.

COLONIAL CONVENTIONS OF THE CLERGY

The clergy had also seen the results of joint efforts during the colonial period, and this had the effect of turning their minds to conventions when joint action was needed after the treaty of peace had been effected. Almost as soon as the S. P. G. missionaries arrived on the Delaware, they began to meet semi-annually for mutual counsel and advice. While they were sometimes sporadic, there is evidence of enough of them to show that they were effective in maintaining good working order in the several churches.

As early as November 2, 1705, fourteen clergy met in Burlington and drafted an appeal to the archbishops and to the S. P. G. asking that a suffragan bishop be appointed for America. Included in the names of those who signed the appeal were George Ross, Thomas Crawford and Eric Björk.³⁷

Ross and Björk were also present at a clerical meeting in the spring of 1713.³⁸ All the clergy of Pennsylvania (including the Lower Counties) met at New Castle, probably several times, between March

³⁵See G. M. Brydon, "The Origin of the Rights of the Laity in the American Episcopal Church" in *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, XII (Dec. 1943) pp. 311 ff.

³⁶Bishop of London, 1723-48.

³⁷Hills, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-2.

³⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 108-9.

10 and April 20, 1714, to discuss the case of the Rev. Francis Phillips of Philadelphia, who had been accused of immorality.³⁹ In 1717, after Governor Keith had redirected the marriage licenses to the clergy once more, they met to send him their thanks for his support of their cause.

At the meeting in Philadelphia on Tuesday in Easter Week, 1722, they agreed that since there was such a shortage of clergy, they would serve Hopewell by turns so that congregation would not want for some ministration.⁴⁰

In October, 1723, they met at Chichester (now Marcus Hook, Pennsylvania)⁴¹ and approved of taking disciplinary action against the Rev. John Urmston who had thrust himself into Christ Church, Philadelphia, without authority. The clergy approved of the action of Christ Church vestry in dismissing him. Seven clergymen were present at this meeting and sent a general survey of the missions to the secretary of the Venerable Society in London.

At the meeting held on September 20, 1727, the clergy sent protests to the governor and to England over the practice of granting marriage licenses to Presbyterian ministers. This meeting was held at New Castle.⁴² Another item on the agenda at this meeting was the conduct of the Rev. Mr. Campbell, who, we have seen, caused the clergy no little concern during his short stay at Appoquinimy.

William Becket was one of the preachers at the meeting held in Philadelphia at Christ Church on September 24, 1729.⁴³ A meeting was planned for the fall of 1732 and Becket asked to be excused from attending because of the expense involved.⁴⁴ He wrote to Cummings, commissary to the bishop of London and rector of Christ Church:

“ . . . If you can excuse me from coming up the River to meet the Clergy (as usual) this Fall I shall take it as a great favor for I have a great sum to pay & none to Spend.”

It would appear from this that the gatherings were more than mere conventions, that Becket, at least, looked upon them more in the light of visitations.

The meeting of April 30, 1760, was attended by the clergy from all the Delaware missions.⁴⁵ It is this meeting which Bishop Perry calls

³⁹Perry, *op. cit.*, II, 83, 84, 86.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, II, 127.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, V, 40.

⁴²*Ibid.*, V, 49.

⁴³*Ibid.*, V, 54-5.

⁴⁴Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

⁴⁵Smith, H. W., *op. cit.*, I, 268 ff., Perry, *op. cit.*, II, 295 ff.

the "First Convention."⁴⁶ In the light of the foregoing material it is difficult to see just what he meant by the statement, for many of the citations are from letters which he had undoubtedly seen. One of the chief items under discussion at this meeting was the case of the Rev. William MacClenachan, who also had attempted to insert himself into the clerical family of Christ Church, Philadelphia, despite the rector's disapproval. After being censured by the clergy, he and his friends founded St. Paul's Church, Philadelphia. Following his foundation, this church maintained its Methodist leanings as long as it was used as a parish church. Another item was the case of the Rev. Matthias Harris, who had inserted himself in the Lewes Mission without the approval of the Society. He was refused a seat in the convention. The letters of both Harris and the congregations were returned to them because they would not submit to the dictates of the Society.

In addition to discussing affairs such as these, the clergy present seem always to have made a short survey of their parishes and reported these to the convention. Most of the references cited give examples of these *Notitia Parochialis*. Almost without exception they drafted letters to the governors and to the proprietaries of the province. A good example of these is found in the manuscript letter to Thomas and Richard Penn:

May 6, 1760

To the Hon^{ble} Thomas Penn & Richard Penn, Esquires, true and absolute Proprietaries of the Province of Pennsylvania, & Counties of New Castle, Kent and Sussex on Delaware—

May it please your Honours,

We the Clergy of the Church of England in the Province of Pennsylvania & Counties annexed having met together in free and voluntary Convention to confer on such Matters as we thought might be conducive to the general service of Religion, beg Leave to embrace so favorable an Opportunity to assure you of our sincere Regards to the Hon^{ble} Proprietary Family.

At the same Time we do this we beg Leave also to express our grateful Sense of the many invaluable Privileges which as Members of the Community we enjoy under the Charter granted this Province by your honorable & worthy Father, whose Memory we regard; and our sincere Resolution to take every Opportunity in our Power to promote its best Interests—

We are persuaded that this will ever be the most effectual Means of recommending ourselves to your Favour & Counte-

⁴⁶Perry, W. S., *History of the American Church*, I, 241-2.

nance, which we hope to be so happy to enjoy, while our best Endeavors will be directed at deserving them—

Wishing you every Felicity temporal & eternal, we are
 May it please your Honours,
 Your most obedient and Affectionate
 humble Servants

Philadelphia, May 5th
 1760

Robert Jenney Rector of Christ
 Church
 William Smith, Presidt
 of the Convention
 George Craig
 Philip Reading
 William Sturgeon
 Hugh Neill
 Tho Barton
 Chas. Inglis
 Wm. Thompson
 Jacob Duche

We the subscribers Missionaries in New Jersey assisting in this Convention, beg leave to join with our Reverend Brethren in the sincere Testimony they have given of their Regards to the Hon^{ble} Proprietary Family—

Samuel Cooke
 Robert McKean⁴⁷

Another meeting was held in May of 1761, when the clergy had a three day affair and ended the session by attending the commencement exercises at the College of Philadelphia.

These meetings had their effect not only in keeping some of the more refractory members of both clergy and parishes in line, but did much to advertise the Episcopal Church and to stimulate isolated parsons with the knowledge that they were not alone in their work. Writing of this convention Charles Inglis observed:

“The Missionaries and other Episcopal Clergy of this Province had another Voluntary Meeting at Philadelphia. We have no Design but to become better acquainted with each other, and hold friendly Conferences on what may best promote the common cause of Religion and our Church . . .”⁴⁸

That such meetings were stimulating merely by reason of their numbers may also be seen from another letter of Inglis’:

⁴⁷*Penn Papers MSS*, Vol. VII. Hist. Soc. Penna.

⁴⁸Lydekker, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

"The Number of Members, including two Missionary's from Jersey, was twelve; and so many Black Gowns made no inconsiderable appearance, I can tell you, in these parts."⁴⁹

The usual procedure was to elect a presiding officer from among those present, elect a committee to "wait upon the governor," hear a sermon and then discuss such matters as might have arisen requiring consultation. This convention was further enhanced by the clergy attending in a body the graduation exercises of the college.⁵⁰

These conventions were, of course, purely clerical affairs, although on a few occasions some layman was brought in to act as secretary. The Corporation for the Relief of Widows and Orphans of Clergymen was made up of both clergy and laity, hence, when it came to organize the Church, the meeting of the corporation became the occasion for discussing the reorganization of the Church. The clerical gatherings were in the habit of hearing reports on the state of the parishes, and methods of parish administration were discussed. Reports were sent to the bishop of London and to the secretary of the Society concerning the state of the Church. Clerical offenders were verbally chastised and reported to England. In all these matters these voluntary meetings were training grounds for the Church when it was forced to stand upon its own, and the methods which were evolved were remembered and oftentimes put into force.

POST-REVOLUTIONARY INTERSTATE MEETINGS AND GENERAL CONVENTIONS

The first interstate meeting of the Church after the Revolution was held in connection with the Corporation for the Relief of Widows and Orphans, and convened in New Brunswick, New Jersey, on May 11, 1784,⁵¹ but the Delaware clergy were not represented. At this time Dr. Wharton and Parson Thorne were the only two clergymen in charge of Episcopal congregations within the state of Delaware, and it appears that neither of them was a member of the corporation at this time. Dr. Magaw, now of Philadelphia, was present, and it is unlikely that he would allow the needs of his former sphere of work to be forgotten.⁵² Two committees were appointed, one to attempt some union

⁴⁹Lydekker, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

⁵⁰Dorr, *Historical Account of Christ Church*, pp. 124-5; also Perry, *op. cit.*, V, 104.

⁵¹See W. H. Stowe, "Corporation for the Relief of Widows and Children of Clergymen" in *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, III (March, 1934) pp. 19-33.

⁵²See Dr. Manross' article in *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, VIII (Sept. 1939), pp. 257 ff.

with the clergy of Connecticut and Massachusetts, and the other to serve as a committee of correspondence, after which the meeting adjourned.

Dr. Wharton, Parson Thorne, and Robert Clay, a layman from New Castle who was later ordained, were representatives of the Delaware churches at the interstate meeting of October 6th and 7th, 1784, which met in New York. Only Massachusetts and Pennsylvania had *authorized* representatives at this meeting, and it was agreed to recommend to churchmen in all states that they organize themselves, and then "unite in a general ecclesiastical Constitution, on the following fundamental Principles:⁵³

1. That there should be a General Convention of the Church in the United States.
2. That delegates from both clergy and laity should be sent to the General Convention by the State Conventions.⁵⁴
3. That associated congregations in two or more states might send delegates jointly.
4. That the doctrine and liturgy of the Church should remain the same as the Church of England except where political exigencies required a change.
5. That where a state should have a bishop regularly consecrated, he should be a member of the convention ex-officio.
6. That state conventions should be unicameral, but that clergy and laity should vote by orders and that a concurrence of both should be necessary to give validity to any measure.
7. That the next General Convention should be in Philadelphia the following October and that State conventions should send delegates with power to proceed with the necessary business.'

Most of the churches followed the recommendations of the 1784 meeting and organized themselves in their respective states, but Delaware was not among those which did so. However, when the General Convention met in Christ Church, Philadelphia, from September 27 to October 7, 1785, Delaware was represented by Dr. Wharton, the Hon. Thomas Duff, James Sykes, John Reece, Joseph Tatlow, Alexander Reynolds and Robert Clay.⁵⁵ Thomas Duff lived in the vicinity of St. James', Whiteclay Creek, and usually represented that church in later state conventions. James Sykes was from Dover; Robert Clay from New Castle; Alexander Reynolds also from St. James'.⁵⁶ One of the

⁵³Perry, W. S. (ed.), *Journals of General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the United States, 1785-1835*. III vols.

⁵⁴The word "diocese" is seldom used in this period.

⁵⁵Perry, *Journals of the Convention*, pp. 15-16.

⁵⁶*Convention Journals of the Diocese of Delaware, 1791 to 1795*. Reprinted for the Rev. J. Leighton McKim.

first items of business was the examination of the testimonials of appointment of deputies, and it was declared that the Delaware delegation, along with the deputies from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia and South Carolina, were satisfactory.⁵⁷ There had been no Delaware convention up to this time. The convention must, therefore, have taken a very liberal view as to the proper testimonials which should be presented. Some of the Delawareans were quite active in the sessions and work of the convention.

Dr. Wharton and Mr. Sykes were members of the committees which had charge of the revision of the liturgy, the drafting of the Church's constitution, and the committee for preparing a plan for the obtaining of the episcopate.⁵⁸ Dr. Wharton was also a member of the committee appointed to prepare a Form of Prayer and Thanksgiving for the Fourth of July,⁵⁹ as well as a member of the committee to see to the publishing of the Proposed Book of Common Prayer.⁶⁰

When the next General Convention met in Christ Church, Philadelphia, from June 20 to June 26, 1786, the delegation from Delaware was composed of Dr. Wharton and the Rev. Sydenham Thorne, Messrs. Robert Clay and Nicholas Ridgeley.⁶¹ In the meantime, however, Dr. Wharton had been busy with the committee which was to see the Prayer Book through the press. On November 5, 1785, he wrote to Dr. William White:

My dear Sir,

After nearly 3 weeks Excursion to Annapolis and Talbot County, I returned home on Saturday evening. I saw at New Town some proof sheets of the prayer book and think it will be very well executed. Dr. Smith and myself laboured hard at the Psalms during a whole day, and I trust the Selection we made will be satisfactory. I hope no trifling difficulties will retard the publication which is earnestly looked for. Should the work be a twelvemonth in hand, some refinements would be forever occurring.

What have you done with the Lessons? My wish is to see them short, but edifying. If not too late I will send you some hints upon this head, this day week.

Yr. sincere Friend and Br.

C. H. Wharton⁶²

The letter from the English bishops asking for further information concerning the new liturgy and other matters was read to the con-

⁵⁷Perry, *Journals*, p. 17.

⁵⁸*Journal of the Convention* (Perry ed.) I, 18-20.

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, I, 24.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, I, 28.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, I, 33.

⁶²*Ibid.*, III, 139, 140.

vention, and Dr. Wharton was among those appointed to draft the letter of reply. When the Rev. Mr. Provoost raised the question implying the invalidity of Bishop Seabury's consecration, the Delaware delegation helped to defeat the motion.⁶³

The Rev. Sydenham Thorne did not appear in the convention until the evening of June 23rd, when the minutes read: "The Rev. Sydenham Thorne, a Deputy from the State of Delaware, exhibited his credentials, and took his seat in the Convention."⁶⁴ This presents somewhat of a problem, for the convention journals are not clear as to what constituted proper credentials and we know of no Delaware convention having been called at this time.

DELAWARE DIOCESAN CONVENTIONS

Bishop Lee points out⁶⁵ that there must have been some kind of convention in Delaware prior to October, 1786, for when the Rev. William Smith appeared from Maryland, having only parochial and not state convention testimonials, and without a lay deputy, the convention agreed that he should not be seated. The probability of a Delaware convention in 1786 is further strengthened by a letter written by Dr. Wharton to Dr. White from New Castle on September 18, 1786:

My Dear Sir.

Your kind Fav'r with the enclosed papers was delivered to me a few minutes ago. You have my most sincere congratulations in your hon'ble appointment; tho' considering the necessary fatigues of a fall or winter voyage, perhaps Mrs. W. at least, will not thank me for rejoicing at this Event. I see no difficulty in complying with the Archb'ps requisition, except the making our past Conventions appear ridiculous. However if *Hell* must at all events be retained, I think a rubric should be inserted to explain its meaning in that place. If the use of the Creeds be discretional, no harm can arise from giving them a place in an Appendix. As to the Testimonials they are very satisfactory to me, Those from the G'l Con'n particularly so.

We meet in Dover the 26th Inst. and must organize our little Church as well as we can. We must belong to some Diocese, and I suppose the matter will be between Maryland and Pennsylvania. Some have hinted that if the Jersey's unite with you, it would be most expedient for us to join a Church Government with Maryland. It will depend much upon the opinion of the Kent County Congreg'ns.

⁶³*Journal of the Convention* (Perry Ed.) I, 37.

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, I, 39.

⁶⁵*Our Centenary*, pp. 7, 8.

I hope the Conv'n at Wilmington will be full and respectable. We shall meet very conveniently at the Academy. Wilm'n by that time, I expect, will be my place of residence.

Yours Affectionately,
Chas. H. Wharton⁶⁶

The state convention, of which Dr. Wharton speaks as about to meet on September 26th, must have met, for the Delaware delegation consisting of Dr. Wharton, Rev. Mr. Thorne, Messrs. Isaac Grantham and James Sykes, was seated without question when the General Convention met in Wilmington on October 10 and 11, 1786, but there appear to be no extant records of such a meeting. Meetings of the General Convention were held in the building of the Wilmington Academy, and services were held in the Swedes' Church.⁶⁷

After hearing the reply of the English archbishops and appointing a committee to consider it, the convention adjourned for the day. The following day, after divine service in the Swedes' Church with a sermon by Dr. Magaw, the convention met and decided that members of the convention must derive their appointments from the action of state conventions, and that clerical deputies could not be seated without lay representation as well.⁶⁸

On important questions concerning the liturgy, the Delaware delegation was divided. Dr. Wharton and Mr. Grantham voted against restoring the clause "He descended into Hell" to the Apostles' Creed, and the Rev. Mr. Thorne and Mr. Sykes voted to restore the clause. All agreed to restore the Nicene Creed to the liturgy. Parson Thorne alone in the delegation voted for the inclusion of the Athanasian Creed.⁶⁹

As a result of this convention Drs. White and Provoost proceeded to England and were consecrated to the episcopate, and the organization of the National Church was completed at the two sessions of the General Convention which met in Philadelphia, July 28th to August 8th and September 29th to October 16th, 1789. Delegates from Delaware were the Rev. Joseph Couden, the Rev. Stephen Sykes, and Messrs. James Sykes, Thomas Duff, and Philip Reading,⁷⁰ but the first records we have, either of a parochial or diocesan nature, covering the organization of the Church in the state of Delaware are for 1791. None of the parochial records mention a previous convention.

⁶⁶*Journals of the Convention*, III, 327-8.

⁶⁷*Ibid.*, I, 57.

⁶⁸*Ibid.*, I, 57.

⁶⁹*Ibid.*, I, 60.

⁷⁰*Ibid.*, I, 65.

The vestry record of Prince George's Church, Dagsboro, has the first notice at a vestry meeting held on Sunday, October 30, 1791, when Samuel Dirickson was elected delegate to "a Convention to be held at Dover on the second day of December Next—Consisting of the Clergy & Laity of the Delaware State."⁷¹

Likewise the Lewes *Record*, which is complete for the period from 1777 to 1796, has the following as its first mention of any convention in the state:

At a Meeting of the Wardens and Vestry of Saint Peters Parish at Lewes the 15 day of October 1791. Resolved unanimously that Phillips Kollock Esq be a Lay Deputy to represent this Church in a State Convention of Clerical and Lay Deputies to meet at Dover the 2d day of December next and that his reasonable Expenses be paid him by the Congregation of Saint Peters Parish.⁷²

This convention, which is the first of which we have an actual record, had the following membership:

NEW CASTLE COUNTY

St. Anne's Church
Rev. John Bissett
Hon. Joshua Clayton, Esq.

Emanuel Church
Kensey Johns, Esq.

St. James's Church
Thomas Duff, Esq.

KENT COUNTY

Christ Church, Dover
Hon. James Sykes, Esq.

Christ Church, Mispillion
Rev. Sydenham Thorne,
Jehu Davis, Esq.

SUSSEX COUNTY

Christ Church
Rev. William Skelly,
Mr. Jonathon Waller.

St. Matthew's Church
Isaac Beauchamp, Esq.

Prince George's Church
Mr. Samuel Dirickson.

St. George's Church
Mr. Woodman Stockley.

St. Mary's Chapel
Mr. William Bradley.

St. Peter's Church
Phillips Kollock, Esq.

The *Journal* states that the meeting was called:

"In consequence of a circular letter issued by the Rev. John Bissett and the vestry of Christ Church, Dover, inviting the members of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the state of Delaware to *convene*, for the purpose of framing and enacting a consti-

⁷¹*MSS Record*, p. 17.

⁷²*MSS Vestry Record*.

tution, and promoting good government among the congregations of their society,—several of the clergy and lay delegates assembled at Dover, on Friday, the second day of December, 1791; and judging it expedient to wait for the arrival of more members, Adjourned to nine o'clock tomorrow morning."

On the following day after prayers Sydenham Thorne was elected president and John Bissett was elected secretary. Thorne, Bissett, and William Skelly for the clergy, and Joshua Clayton, Woodman Stockley, James Sykes, Nicholas Ridgeley, and Kensey Johns for the laity, were elected deputies to the General Convention of 1792. Thorne, Bissett, Clay, and Skelly were elected a standing committee, and the convention adjourned to meet in Dover on the third Tuesday in December, 1792.⁷³

From this time on the Church in the state of Delaware continued to function as a diocesan unit, although hard times were to come. Small in numbers, financially weak, yet this small beginning was the origin of the present diocese of Delaware.⁷⁴

⁷³*Journal of the Proceedings of a Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of Delaware, held in Dover, on Saturday, the third day of December, 1791* (New York: Printed by Hugh Caine, in Hanover Square, 1791).

⁷⁴For the period between this study and the election of Alfred Lee, first bishop of Delaware, see "The Diocese of Delaware" by Edgar Legare Pennington in *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, V (March, 1936) pp. 1-26.

EPILOGUE

What shall we then say to these things? That it is an interesting, but dismal, antiquarian tale of failures and weakness? Scarcely, for well-nigh every permanent function of our modern American civilization had such simple beginnings, marked by few successes and many failures. The marvel of it all is that a few score Christian priests and their families would brave the dangers of the great deep in frail sailing craft, that they would leave a settled land where the Church was so firmly established, that they would remain faithful with so little encouragement or episcopal supervision, and venture into a new world to minister to the scattered flock of Christ. They endured hardship and disease; they were slandered and poorly provided for; they knew frustration and disillusionment; and had it not been for the small, but regular, stipend and encouragement provided by the venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, it is doubtful if their work could have survived.

Yet survive it did, for it was founded upon the strong Rock. Cut off from English supplies of men and money by the Revolution, small groups of faithful laymen, ministered to as little as once or twice a year in some instances, kept the faith through the dark years from 1790 to 1840. The efforts of these small congregations in remaining faithful to the Anglican tradition is one of the great chapters in our history.

The year 1841 marks the renaissance of Anglicanism in Delaware. Alfred Lee was elected first bishop of Delaware in that year. He found many of these colonial foundations in bad straits, with congregations reduced to a mere handful. In the state as a whole there was only one Churchman in every 230 citizens. Yet on this foundation laid by the S. P. G. missionaries, he and his successors, Coleman, Kinsman, Cook, McKinstry, with their priests and laymen, have built the present diocese of Delaware.

Theirs is a record of expansion. Within a century of Bishop Lee's consecration every forty-first person you met was to call himself a Churchman. In that century the population of the state increased $3\frac{1}{2}$ times; the diocese increased 19 times. Although the state has had an increase in population of 241.4 per cent, the diocese has had an increase of 1,835 per cent. The colonial Church in the Lower Counties never had more than four priests active in it at any one time; the diocese now counts almost ten times as many. Surely the simple foundation, laid with difficulty, deserves our sympathetic recording, and we may bless Almighty God for those faithful priests and laymen, and for the Venerable Society, whose vision of the Kingdom was so clear that they were willing to work, to pray, and to give of their wealth and lives that the Kingdom might come in this land.

THE SEAL OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS



THE SOCIETY'S CHARTER WAS GRANTED BY
WILLIAM III ON JUNE 16, 1701

THE ABOVE SEAL WAS ADOPTED JULY 8, 1701

"That quaint device upon the Seal of this venerable Society, with its queer old ship and the man at the bow holding an open Bible in his hand, is one of those anachronisms in naval architecture which tells at a glance the story of its age. But it is the legend, Transiens adjuva nos, which explains the fact of the almost universal adjective instinctively applied to the Society. For S. P. G. is venerable and venerated the world over because it has always listened for and heard the call, 'Come over and help us'; across seas, pathless until the mission-ship made a wake in them, glowing with other than the phosphorescent light of ordinary wakes; through wildernesses, trackless until they were trodden by the feet of men shod with the preparation of the Gospel of Peace, and over continents whose primaeval forests the missionary blazed with the Sign of the Cross."—WILLIAM CROSWELL DOANE (1832-1913), Bishop of Albany (1869-1913).

APPENDIX I

INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE CLERGY EMPLOY'D BY THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS

UPON THEIR ADMISSION BY THE SOCIETY

- I. That from the Time of their Admission they lodge not in any Publick-House; but at some Bookseller's or in other private and Reputable Families, till they shall be otherwise accommodated by the Society.
- II. That till they can have a convenient Passage, they employ their Time usefully; in reading Prayers, and Preaching, as they have Opportunity; in hearing others Read and Preach; or in such Studies as may tend to fit them for their Employment.
- III. That they constantly attend the standing Committee of this Society, at St. Paul's Chapter-House, and observe their Directions.
- IV. That before their Departure, they wait upon his Grace the Lord Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, their Metropolitan; and upon the Lord Bishop of London, their Diocesan; to receive their Paternal Benediction and Instructions.

UPON THEIR GOING ON BOARD THE SHIP DESIGNED FOR THEIR PASSAGE

- I. That they demean themselves not only inoffensively and prudently; but so as to become remarkable Examples of Piety and Virtue to the Ships Company.
- II. That whether they be Chaplains in the Ships, or only Passengers, they endeavor to prevail with the Captain or Commander, to have Morning and Evening Prayer said daily, as also Preaching and Catechizing every Lords-Day.
- III. That throughout their Passage, they Instruct, Exhort, Admonish, and Reprove, as they have Occasion and Opportunity, with such Seriousness and Prudence as may gain them Reputation and Authority.

UPON THEIR ARRIVAL IN THE COUNTRY WHITHER THEY SHALL BE SENT

First, With Respect to themselves.

- I. That they always keep in their View the Great Design of their Undertaking: viz. to promote the Glory of Almighty God, and the Salvation of Men, by propagating the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour.
- II. That they often consider the Qualifications requisite for those who would effectually promote this Design, viz. A sound Knowledge and hearty Belief of the Christian Religion; and Apostolical Zeal temper'd with Prudence, Humility, Meekness, and Patience; a fervent Charity towards the Souls of Men; and finally that Temperance, Fortitude, and Constancy, which become good soldiers of Jesus Christ.

- III. That in order to the obtaining and preserving the said Qualifications, they do very frequently in their Retirements offer up fervent Prayers to Almighty God for his Direction and Assistance; converse much with the Holy Scriptures; seriously reflect upon their Ordination Vows; and consider the Account which they are to render to the great Shepherd and Bishop of Souls, at the last Day.
- IV. That they acquaint themselves thorowly with the Doctrine of the Church of England, as contain'd in the Articles and Homilies; its worhsip and Discipline, and Rules for Behaviour of the Clergy, as contain'd in the Liturgy and Canons; and that they approve themselves accordingly, as genuine Missionaries from this Church.
- V. That they endeavor to make themselves Masters in those Controversies, which are necessary to be understood in order to the preserving their Flock from the Attempts of such Gainsayers as are mixt among them.
- VI. That in their outward Behaviour they be circumspect and unblameable, giving no Offence either in Word or Deed; that their Ordinary Discourse be grave and edifying; that their Apparel decent, and proper for Clergy-men; and that in their whole Conversation they be Instances and Patterns of Christian Life.
- VII. That they do not board in, or frequent publick-houses, or lodge in Families of Evil Fame; that they wholly abstain from Gaming, and all vain Pastimes; and converse not familiarly with Lewd or prophane Persons, otherwise than in order to reprove, admonish, and reclaim them.
- VIII. That in whatsoever Family they shall lodge, they perswade them to join with them in daily Prayer Morning and Evening.
- IX. That they be not nice about Meats or Drinks, nor immoderately careful about their Entertainment in the Places where they shall sojourn; be contented with what Health requires, and the Place easily affords.
- X. That they be Frugal in Opposition to Luxury, so they avoid all Appearance of Covetousness, and recommend themselves according to their Abilities by the prudent Exercise of Liberality and Charity.
- XI. That they take special Care to give no offence to the Civil Government, by intermeddling in Affairs not relating to their own Calling and Function.
- XII. That avoiding all Names of Distinction, they endeavour to preserve a Christian Agreement and Union one with another, as a Body of Brethren of one and the same Church, united under the Superior Episcopal Order, and all engaged in the same great Design of Propagating the Gospel; and to this End keeping up a Brotherly Correspondence, by meeting together at certain Times, as shall be most convenient for mutual Advice and Assistance.

Secondly, With Respect to their Parochial Cure.

- I. That they conscientiously observe the Rules of our Liturgy in the Performance of all the Offices of their Ministry.

- II. That besides the stated Service appointed for Sundays and Holy-days, they do, as far as they shall find it practicable, publicly read the daily Morning and Evening Service, and decline no fair Opportunity of Preaching to such as may be Occasionally met together from Remote and Distant Parts.
- III. That they perform every part of Divine Service with that Seriousness and Decency, that may recommend their Ministrations to their Flock, and excite a Spirit of Devotion in them.
- IV. That the Chief Subjects of their Sermons be the great Fundamental Principles of Christianity, and the Duties of a sober, righteous, and godly Life, as resulting from those Principles.
- V. That they particularly preach against those Vices, which they shall observe to be most Predominant in the Places of their Residence.
- VI. That they carefully instruct the People concerning the Nature and Use of the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's-Supper, as the peculiar Institutions of Christ, Pledges of Communion with him, and Means of deriving Grace from him.
- VII. That they duly consider the Qualifications of those adult Persons, to whom they administer Baptism; and of those likewise whom they admit to the Lord's-Supper, according to the Directions of the Rubricks in our Liturgy.
- VIII. That they take special Care, to lay a good Foundation for all their other Ministrations, by Catechizing those under their Care, whether Children or other ignorant Persons, explaining the Catechism to them in the most easie and familiar Manner.
- IX. That in their Instructing Heathens and Infidels, they begin with the Principles of natural Religion, appealing to their Reason and Conscience; and thence proceed to show them the Necessity of Revelation, and the Certainty of that contained in the Holy Scriptures, by the plain and most obvious Arguments.
- X. That they frequently visit their respective Parishioners; those of their own Communion, to keep them steady in the Profession and Practice of Religion, as taught in the Church of England; those that oppose us, or dissent from us, to convince and reclaim them, with a Spirit of Meekness and Gentleness.
- XI. That those whose Parishes shall be of large extent, shall, as they have Opportunity and Convenience, officiate in several Parts thereof, so that all the Inhabitants may by turns partake of their Ministrations; and that such as shall be appointed to officiate in Several places, shall reside sometimes at one, sometimes at another of those Places, as the Necessities of the People shall require.
- XII. That they shall, to the best of their Judgments, distribute those small Tracts given by the Society for that Purpose, amongst such of their Parishioners as shall want them most, and that such useful Books, of which they have not a sufficient number to give, they be ready to lend to those who will be most careful in reading and restoring them.

XIII. That they encourage the setting up Schools for the teaching of Children; and particularly by the Widows of such Clergy-Men as shall die in those Countries, if they be found capable of that Employment.

XIV. That each of them keep a Register of his Parishioners Names, Profession of Religion, Baptism, &c, according to the Scheme annex'd No. I for his own Satisfaction, and the Benefit of the People.

Thirdly, With Respect to the Society.

I. That each of them keep a constant and regular Correspondence with the Society, by their Secretary.

II. That they send every six Months an Account of the State of their Respective Parishes, according to the Scheme annex'd, No. II.

III. That they communicate what shall be done at the Meetings of the Clergy, when settled, and whatsoever else may concern the Society.

[Abstract from *A Collection of Papers Printed by Order of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.* London, 1706.]

APPENDIX II

A CATALOGUE OF THE MISSIONARIES' LIBRARY

[Reprinted from *A Collection of Papers, Printed by Order of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*. London: Printed by T. Harrison and S. Brooke, in Warwick-Lane, MDCCLXXXVIII.]

A

Abridgement of *Boyle's* Lectures.
Bp. *Andrews* on Devotion, &c.
Dr. *Assheton* on Visiting the Sick.
Allen's Discourses.

B

Bishop *Beveridge's* Sermons.
Bp. *Bull's* Works.
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C

Bp. *Chandler's* Defence of Christianity.
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Cudworth on Morality.

D

Duty of Man's Works.
Derham's Physico-Theology.
——Astro-Theology.
Dupin's Canon of Scripture.

E

Edwards (Dr. Jonathon) against the Socinians.

F

Fleetwood's Works.

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G

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Grabe's Justin Martyr.

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Goodman's Penitent Pardoned.

H

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Dr. *Hammond's* New Testament.

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Hornbeck's Sermons.

—Happy Ascetic.

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I, J

Jenkins' Reasonableness of Christianity.

K

King's (Archbishop) Inventions of Men, &c.

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AND
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INDEX

A

- Academy, Dover, 162.
 Academy, Wilmington, 29, 164-166, 182-184.
 Accomac, Virginia, 33.
 Acrelius, Rev. Israel, 2, 100, 104, 105, 152.
 Acrelius, Rev. Israel, *History of New Sweden*, 2.
 Advowson, 174.
 Alagood, William, 94.
 Allen, William, 62.
 Altars, 143. See also, Holy Table.
 Altar cloths, 151-152.
 Anabaptists, 99, 101, 114, 115.
 Andrews, Rev. John, 62, 85, 131, 132, 136, 162.
 Annapolis, Maryland, 180.
 Appendices, 93-95, 187-194.
 Appoquinimy Mission, 9-14, 19, 20, 32-43, 64, 101, 125, 128, 130, 138, 140, 141, 146, 148, 175, 183.
 Architecture, Church, 143-151.
 Asbury, Francis, 64, 65, 67, 110, 116, 117.
 Auchmuty, Rev. Samuel, 60, 89.
 Augustine Parish, see Cecil Co., Md.
 Auren, Rev. Jonas, 97, 98.

B

- Baptisms, 139-141.
 —of Negroes, 160-161.
 Baptists, see Anabaptists.
 Barclay, Rev. Dr. Henry, 60.
 Barratt's Chapel, 120.
 Barton, Rev. Thomas, 24, 60, 62, 85, 177.
 Bayley, Jon., 71.
 Beareroff, Rev. Dr. Philip, 115.
 Beauchamp, Isaac, 183.
 Becket, Mary, 78.
 Becket, Rev. William, 35, 72-79, 102, 111, 113, 115, 116, 128, 134, 135, 138, 139, 140, 155, 157, 172, 175.
 —Will of, 77.

- Beveridge, Rt. Rev. William, 159.
 Bibliography, 195-209.
 Billop, Capt. Christopher, 5.
 Bishop for America, 140.
 Bissett, Rev. John, 183.
 Björk, Rev. Eric, 17, 18, 33, 97-101, 174.
 Black, Rev. William, 32, 33, 47, 68-72, 125.
 Blackfoot Town, see Dagsboro.
 Blackwell, Rev. Robert, 28, 66.
 Bluett, Rev. Thomas, 41, 54-55, 140-141, 148.
 Bohemia Landing, 32.
 Books, 191-194.
 —Provided by S. P. G., 156.
 Borell, Rev. Andrew, 105.
 Boston, Massachusetts, 83.
 —King's Chapel, 173.
 Bradford, Andrew, 37.
 Bradley, William, 183.
 Bray Associates, 156.
 Bray, Rev. Dr. Thomas, 156.
 Brinckloe, John, 48, 69.
 —John and Elizabeth, 44, 50.
 Bristol, Penna., 24.
 Broad Creek, Christ Church, 93-95, 143, 144, 150, 183.
 Brooke, Rev. Clement, 21.
 Brookhaven, Long Island, N. Y., 36.
 Broom, Jacob, 165.
 Brunholtz, Rev. Mr., 62.
 Burials, 152.
 Burlington, N. J., 16, 29, 30, 32, 65, 98, 121, 174.
 Burton, Cornelius, 78.

C

- Cabner, Baptist minister, 101.
 Campbell, Rev. Alexander, 19, 34-37, 175.
 Cantwell, Capt., 32.
 Carlisle, bishop of, 68.
 Cassock, 123, 152.
 Catechism, 46, 139, 156, 158-160.
 Cecil Co., Md., 19, 20, 39, 42.

- Cedar Creek, St. Matthew's Church, 18, 25, 72, 74, 183.
 Chalice, 141-143.
 Charles XI, King of Sweden, 96, 97, 103.
 Chasuble, 152.
 Chester, bishop of, 82.
 Chester, Penna., 9, 127.
 —school in, 162.
 Chichester, 175.
 Christ Church, *see* Broad Creek; *see* Dover.
 Christ Church, Philadelphia, 179.
 —Stipend of assistant ministers, 130.
 Christina Church, Holy Trinity (Old Swedes'), 17, 96, 101, 102, 103, 105, 106ff, 123, 126-127, 133, 134, 145, 182.
 Church architecture, 143-151.
 Church property, titles to, 172-173.
 Church services, 138-152.
 Church silver, 141-143.
 Claggett, Rt. Rev. Thomas, 110.
 Clark, William, 71.
 Clarkson, Rev. Joseph, 30, 107, 108, 109.
 Clay, Rev. J. C., 30.
 Clay, Rev. Robert, 30-31, 133, 134, 179.
 Claypool, James, 7.
 Clayton, John, 54.
 Clayton, Hon. Joshua, 183.
 Clergy conventions, 174-178.
 Clerk, 153.
 Cleveland, Rev. Aaron, 21, 22, 82-85, 154.
Clowes Bible, 91.
 Clowes, John, 87, 168.
 Clubb, Rev. John, 33, 99.
 Codd, Berkley, 129.
 Coke, Rev. Dr. Thomas, 65, 120.
 Cokesbury College, 121.
 Coleman, John, 120, 162.
 Coleman, Rt. Rev. Leighton, 185.
 College of Glasgow, 68.
 College of Philadelphia, 62, 85, 177.
 Collin, Rev. Dr. Nicholas, 107, 108, 109.
 Communicants, 42-43, 139-141.
 Compton, Henry, bishop of London, 5, 11N., 11-12, 13; *see also* under London, bishops of.
 —Letters of, 11-12, 13.
 Confirmation, 139-140.
 Congregationalism, 110, 122.
 Connecticut, 179.
 Consecration of a church, 100.
 Conshohocken, Penna., 102.
 Conventions of the clergy, 174-178.
 Cook, Rt. Rev. Philip, 185.
 Cooke, Rev. Samuel, 177.
 Copeland, Joseph L., 147.
 Corporation for the Relief of Widows and Children of Clergymen, 42, 43, 63, 67, 131-132, 178.
 Cost of living, 133.
 Cottingham, Elisha, 173.
 Couden, Rev. Joseph, 182-184.
 Craig, Rev. George, 81, 177.
 Cranehook, 96.
 Crawford, Rev. Thomas, 16, 33, 44-52, 68, 124, 139, 151, 174.
 Crooks, Benjamin, 150.
 Crucifix, 152.
 Cummings, Rev. Archibald, 23, 35, 38, 102, 111.
- ### D
- Dagsboro, Prince George's Church, 18, 72, 93-95, 144, 150, 173, 183.
 David, John, 142.
 Davis, Jehu, 183.
 Dedication of a church, 100.
 Deism, 110.
 Delaware Diocesan Conventions, 181-184.
 Delaware, history of, 1, 1N.
 Delaware, map of, *frontispiece*.
 Derrickson, Joseph, 95, 173; *see also* Dirickson.
 Desk, 144.
 Dirickson, Samuel, 183.
 Dissenter, 99.
 Dover, 16, 66, 125, 138, 149-150, 179, 183, 184; *see also* Kent Mission.
 Dover Academy, 162.
 Dover glebe, 135.
 Doz, Lucia, 63.
 Draughton, Edward, 154.
 Duché, Rev. Jacob, 62, 87, 177.
 Duck Creek, 39, 40; erection of church, 59, 63, 66, 148.
 Duck Creek glebe, 134-135.
 Duff, Hon. Thomas, 179, 183.

Dwight, Daniel, 36.
Dyre, Mrs. Rebecca, 141.

E

Eden, Governor Robert, 42.
Edinburgh, bishop of, 68.
Education, 153-166.
Educational policy of the S. P. G., 155-164.
Edwards, Rev. Jonathan, 111.
Edwards, Morgan, 114.
Eneberg, Rev. John, 103.
Enthusiasm, 110.
Erastianism, 110.
Esherton, Penna., 24.
Eucharist, 141.
Evans, Rev. Evan, 11-14, 33, 45, 49, 99, 125, 140, 144.
Evans, Governor John, 32.
Evans, Walter, 94.
Exorcism, 152.

F

Fabritius, Rev. Jacob, 96.
Falkner, Justus, 100.
Fitzgerald, Row'd., 19.
Fogg's Manor, 23.
Form of Prayer and Thanksgiving for 4th of July, 180.
Franklin, Benjamin, 21, 62, 76, 157.
Frazer, Rev. George, 52, 149.
Frelinghuysen, Rev. Theodore J., 111.
French, John, 17.
French, Katherine, 50.
French, Col. Robert, 135.
French, Thomas, 51.

G

Galleries, 143, 144, 145, 150.
General Assembly, 173.
General Conventions, 178-182.
Georgia, 114.
Germantown, Penna., 23.
Gibson, Edmund, bishop of London, 174.
—*Two Letters of*, 161, 199.
Giles, Samuel, 60.
Gilpen, Thomas, 164.
Girelius, Lars (or Lawrence), 106ff, 133, 164.
Glebe, 130, 133-136, 149, 172.
—Lewes, 75, 87, 136.
—New Castle, 123, 128.

Gloucester, bishop of, 111.
Gloucester, N. J., 87.
Gooding, John, 34.
Gookin, Charles, 15, 49, 142.
Gordon, Gov. Alexander, 34, 35, 129.
Gown, 123, 152.
Grantham, Isaac, 181-184.
Green, Thomas, 148.
Groton, Conn., 83.

H

Hackett, Rev. Walter, 19, 36, 37-38, 140.
Haddam, Conn., 83.
Haesman, Rev. Gabriel, 104.
Haile, Elizabeth, 44.
Halliday, Rev. Thomas, 33.
Halliwell, Richard, 134; Will of, 134.
Hamilton, Gov. James, 105.
Harris, Rev. Matthias, 82, 83-85, 176.
Harrison, Rev. William, 76.
Harrod, Hap, 173.
Harvard College, 82.
Heath, Rev. Levi, 121, 121n.
Heinzelman, Rev. Matthias, 104.
Hell, rubric on, 181-182.
Henderson, Rev. Jacob, 16-18, 36, 49-50, 100, 127.
Henney, Samuel, 85.
Hessellius, Rev. Andrew, 33, 99, 100, 101, 102.
Hessellius, Rev. Samuel, 33, 35, 102ff.
Hobby, Sir Charles, 69.
Hogg, Alexander, 40.
Holbrooke, Rev. John, 33, 35.
Holcomb, Thomas, 2.
Holston, Robert, *see* Houston.
Holt, Ryves, 138.
Holy Club, 111.
Holy Communion, 152.
Holy Table, 143, 147, 151-152.
Hopewell, N. J., 45.
Hopkinson, Mrs. Mary, 59-60.
Houston, Robert, 94, 94N.
Howe, Lord, 24.
Humphreys, Rev. David, 34, 49, 101, 102.
Humphries, Rev. John, 72, 99, 102; *see also*, Humphreys.
Hunter, Gov. of N. Y., 17.

I

- Immanuel Church, New Castle, *see*
under New Castle.
Indian, 139.
Indian River Hundred, St. George's
Chapel, 73, 80, 136, 144, 150, 183.
Inglis, Rev. Charles, 56-61, 89, 139, 148,
149-150, 163, 168, 177.
Interstate meetings, Post-Revolutionary,
178, 179.

J

- Jenkins, Rev. Thomas, 9, 10-14, 32-33,
69, 125, 126.
Jenny, Rev. Dr. Robert, 23, 39, 40, 78,
177.
Johns, Kensey, 183.
Johnson, Laban, 95.
Johnson, Rev. Samuel, 53.
Jones, Rev. Hugh, 39.

K

- Keith, Rev. George, 6, 7.
Keith, Governor, 18, 175.
Kent County, St. Paul's Church, 133.
Kent Mission, 44-67.
King, James, 95.
King, John, 116.
Kinsman, Rt. Rev. Frederick Joseph,
185.
Kollock, Jacob, 85, 142.
Kollock, Philip, 173, 183.
Kollock, Simon, Jr., 168.

L

- Laity, representation of, 174.
Lancaster, Penna., 24, 56, 62, 104.
Lectern, 147.
Lee, Rt. Rev. Alfred, 29, 63, 106, 181,
185.
Lewes, 18, 25, 32, 46, 53, 75, 111, 113,
116, 123, 130, 133, 163, 173, 176,
183.
—description of church, 73, 151.
—glebe of, 75, 87, 136.
Lewis, Wiscam, 85.
Libraries, of missionaries, 191-195.
—parochial, 156.
Lidenius, Rev. Abraham, 99, 102, 105.
Lilliston, Rev. Mr., 12.
Lindsay, Rev. William, 24, 39.

- Local support of missionaries, 124.
Lock, Rev. Lars, 96.
Locke, Rev. Richard, 81.
Lockwood, Samuel, 173.
London, bishop of, 3, 5, 11-12, 13, 36,
46, 47, 48, 49, 63, 68, 82, 85, 99,
102, 147, 174.
London Grove, Penna., 20.
Lottery to build church, 146.
Lowman, Samuel, 17.
Lutherans, 96-121.
Lyon, Rev. John, 87-89.
Lyon, Rev. Samuel, 131, 133.

M

- Macclenachan, Rev. William, 41, 57,
176.
Machonchie, Rev. William, 36.
Mackenzie, Rev. Aeneas, 22.
Magaw, Col. Robert, 64.
Magaw, Rev. Samuel, 28, 43, 61-65, 66,
85, 116, 118, 121, 132, 134-135,
138, 149, 162, 168, 169-170, 171,
178, 182.
Magaw, Dr. William, 64.
Malden, Mass., 83.
Manlove, Boaz, 168.
Map of Delaware, *see Frontispiece*.
Marcus Hook, Penna., 99, 175.
Marriage licenses, 37-38, 129.
Maryland churches, 143.
Maryland salaries, 128, 131, 135.
Massachusetts, 179.
Mayhew, Jonathan, 122.
McComb, Eleazer, 64.
McKean, Rev. Robert, 177.
McKean, Thomas, 164, 168.
McKinstiry, Rt. Rev. Arthur R., 185.
Medston, Arthur, 44, 49; *also* Meston.
Meston, Elizabeth, 48; *also* Medston, 50.
Methodists, 25, 64-65, 96-121, 176.
Milford, *see* Mispillion.
Mispillion, 53, 63, 66-67, 133, 183.
Mitchell, George, 173.
Montgomery, Robert, 20.
Moore, Rev. Benjamin, 66.
Morris, Rev. Theophilus, 53.
Muhlenberg, Rev. H. M., 97, 104.
Murdock, Patrick, 165.
Mushmillion, *see* Mispillion.

N

Naesman, Pastor, 101.
 Naff, Hance and Mary, 108.
 Narragansett, R. I., 69.
 Negroes, Christian work among the, 63,
 79, 88, 139, 160.
 Neill, Rev. Hugh, 54-56, 60, 66, 82, 118,
 135, 148, 149, 150, 157, 163, 177,
 178.
 New Brunswick, N. J., 178.
 New Castle, 6, 114, 123, 125-126, 133-
 134, 139, 144-146, 154, 174, 179,
 183.
 New Castle County, 5-31.
 New Jersey, 177.
 New Jersey Swedes, 101ff.
 New Light, 40.
 New London, Penna., 24.
 New York, 30, 120.
 Nicene Creed, 182.
 Nichols, Rev. Henry, 9, 10-14, 32.
 Norris, Isaac, 71.
 Norwich, Conn., 83.
 Noxon, Thomas, 34, 37, 54.
 Nunez, Daniel, 85.
 Nys, John, 142.

O

Ogilvie, Rev. John, 89.
 Old Swedes' Church, *see* Christina
 Church.
 Oliver, Joseph, 67.
 Ordination, Swedish, 100.
 Oxford, Penna., 23, 56, 98, 100, 163.
 Oxford University, 111.

P

Pall, 152.
 Parker, Anderson, 173.
 Parker, George, 173.
 Parlin, Rev. Olaf, 101, 104.
 Parochial libraries, 156.
 Patterson, Rev. John, 93.
 Patterson, Robert, 164.
 Patuxent Parish, Md., 17.
 Paynter, Samuel, 85.
 Penn, John, 142.
 Penn, Richard, 176.
 Penn, Thomas, 176.
 Penn, William, 111, 174.

Pennington, Rev. E. L., 29, 106.
 Pennsylvania delegation to convention,
 179.
 Pennsneck, 104.
 Perry, Rt. Rev. W. S., 3.
 Peters, Rev. Richard, 42, 87, 88, 90,
 146-147.
 Peterson, Andrew, 35.
 Pews, 143, 144.
 Philadelphia, 23, 111, 175, 176, 177.
 —Schools in, 162.
 Phillips, Rev. Francis, 175.
 Pietersen, Evert, 153.
 Pilmoor, Rev. Joseph, *see* Pilmore.
 Pilmore, Rev. Joseph, 116, 121.
 Pirates at Lewes, 70.
 Plaskett, Ann, 78.
 Porter, Rev. Aaron, 83.
 Poulteney, Francis, 40.
 Preaching, 158-160.
 Presbyterians, 10, 45, 49, 53, 55, 76, 84,
 99, 110, 112, 113, 114, 115, 130,
 138, 167, 175.
 Prince George's Chapel, *see* Dagsboro.
 Principles of Union, 179.
 Provoost, Rt. Rev. Samuel, 181, 182.
 Pugh, Rev. John, 39, 127.
 Pulpit, 144, 147, 151-152.

Q

Quary, Col. Robert, 9-14, 49.
 Quakers, 53, 55, 70, 77, 99, 113, 115,
 138, 139.
 Queen Anne, 141, 142, 151.

R

Racoon, 104.
 Raphoe, bishop of, 156.
 Reading, Philip [Jr.], 182.
 Reading, Rev. Philip, 39-43, 61, 132,
 133, 141, 142, 146, 148, 168, 169,
 177.
 Reece, John, 179.
 Reformed Church, 97.
 Ren'ch, James, 168.
 Representation of the laity, 174.
 Revolutionary War, 24, 43, 89-91, 117,
 133, 164, 167-186.
 Reynolds, Alexander, 179.
 Ridgeley, Nicholas, 180.

Ries, David, 51.
 Robinson, James, 146.
 Robinson, Thomas, 168.
 Rodney, Caesar, 62, 168.
 Rodney, Caesar Augustus, 64.
 Rodney, Captain, 46, 49.
 Rodney, John, 142, 168.
 Rodney, Thomas, 64, 168.
 Roe, Rev. Samuel, 65-66, 119, 120, 121.
 Roman Catholics, 25-30, 41, 53, 55, 84, 138.
 Ross, Rev. Aeneas, 22-25, 42, 67, 133, 171.
 Ross, Betsy, 171.
 Ross, Rev. George, 7-14, 17, 18-21, 22-25, 34-35, 37, 38, 51, 71, 99, 102, 104, 111, 112, 123, 126, 128, 139, 140, 142, 145-146, 149, 152, 154, 156, 168, 171-172, 174.
 Ross, John, 171.
 Rowland, Samuel, 71.
 Royal Bounty, 5.
 Rudman, Rev. Andrew, 97, 98, 100, 145.
 Russel, John, 173.

S

Sacraments, 139, 142-143.
 Saint Anne's Church, *see* Appoquinimy.
 Saint Asaph, bishop of, 159.
 St. Clare, *see* Sinclair.
 Saint David's, bishop of, 85.
 Saint George's Chapel, Indian River Hundred, *see* Indian River Hundred.
 Saint James's Chapel, *see* Whiteclay Creek.
 Saint John the Baptist Chapel, "In the Forest," 73.
 Saint Johnstown, 67.
 Saint Mary Anne Parish, *see* Cecil County, Md.
 Saint Mary's County, Md., 29.
 Saint Matthew's Church, *see* Cedar Creek.
 Saint Paul's Church, Philadelphia, 64.
 Saint Stephen's Parish, *see* Cecil County, Md.
 Salaries, *see under* Stipends.
 Salary regulations of the S. P. G., 122.
 Sandel, Rev. Andrew, 98, 99.
 Sandhook, 96.
 Schoolmasters, 162-164.
 Schools, in Lewes, 86.
 Seabury, Rt. Rev. Samuel, 65, 93n, 120, 181.
 Seal of the S. P. G., 186.
 Serle, Ambrose, 24.
 Sewell, Rev. Richard, 33.
 Shallcross, Joseph, 164.
 Shields, Luke, 85, 168.
 Shippensburg, Penna., 24.
 Shrewsbury, N. J., 45.
 Silvius, Anders, 100.
 Sims, Henrietta, 142.
 Sinclair, Rev. Robert, 15-16, 127.
 Skara, bishop of, 97.
 Skelly, Rev. William, 93, 133, 183.
 Slavery, 133.
 Smith, Dr. Robert, 164.
 Smith, Rev. Dr. William, 27-28, 62, 63, 87, 131, 177, 180, 181.
 Smyrna, 148; *see also* Duck Creek.
 Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (the S. P. C. K.), 156.
 Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge among the Germans of Pennsylvania, 62.
 Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (the S. P. G.), 2, 97, 98, 101, 115, 122, 133.
 —Educational policy, 155-164, 185.
 —Instructions to clergy, 187-190.
 —Seal of, 186.
 Society for the Reformation of Manners, 46.
 Society for the Relief of Widows and Children of Clergymen, 87, 131-132, 178.
 Soumaine, Simon, 142.
 S. P. C. K., *see under* Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.
 S. P. G., *see under* Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.
 Springer, Charles, 96.
 Stepney Parish, Maryland, 133.
 Stipends, increased by tutoring, 162-164.
 —In Maryland, 131, 135.
 —Of Presbyterians, 130.
 —Of Swedish pastors, 123.
 —In Virginia, 128, 135.

Stockley, Woodman, 183.
 Strawbridge, Robert, 116.
 Stregnetz, bishop of, 97.
 Sturgeon, Rev. William, 177.
 Support of the clergy, 122.
 Surplice fees, 129.
 Surplices, 152.
 Sussex Mission, 140ff.
 Swedberg, Dr. Jesper, 96, 100.
 Sweden, queen of, 96.
 Swedish Lutherans, 96-121.
 Swedish pastors' salaries, 123.
 Sykes, James, 179-184.
 Sykes, Rev. Stephen, 92, 133, 171, 182-184.

T

Talbot, Rev. John, 7, 13-14, 32, 49, 69, 70-71, 99, 123, 125.
 Tatlow, Joseph, 179.
 Tenison, Archbishop, 47.
 Tennent, Rev. Gilbert, 111, 114.
 Tesschenmaker, Petrus, 6.
 Thalin, John, 96.
 Thomas, Governor, 116.
 Thompson, Rev. William, 177.
 Thomson, Rev. Thomas, 105.
 Thorne, Rev. Sydenham, 30, 66-67, 118, 169-171, 178, 179-184.
 Tillotson, Archbishop, 112, 115.
 Tingley, Rev. Samuel, 89-91, 95, 132, 169-171.
 Title to church property, 172-173.
 Torkillus, Rev. Reorus, 96.
 Tracts, 156ff.
 Tranberg, Rev. Peter, 35, 103, 104.
 Trenton, N. J., 42.
 Trustees Act, 173.
 Turner, Rev. Dr. C. H. B., 2.
 Tutoring, 162-164.

U

Unanders, Rev. Eric, 104, 105.
 Upsala, 96.
 Upsala, bishop of, 97.
 Urmston, Rev. John, 175.
 Usages, 151-152.
 Ussher, Rev. Arthur, 52-55, 77, 79-82, 138, 149.

V

Vesey, Rev. Dr., 17.
 Vestments, 151-152.
 Vining, Benjamin, 60.
 Vining, John, 62, 168.
 Vining, Mary, 60.
 Vining, Mrs. John, 61.
 Virginia churches, 143.
 Virginia salaries, 128, 155.

W

Wade, Rev. John, 92-93, 171.
 Waller, Jonathon, 183.
 Waples, Lewis Gates, 167.
 Waples, Col. Nathaniel, 167.
 Waples, William, 173.
 Watson, Elizabeth, 49.
 Way, Dr. Nicholas, 164-165.
 Weems, Mary, 108.
 Welsh language, 9, 9n, 32.
 Wesley, Rev. Charles, 121n.
 Wesley, Rev. John, 24, 25, 65, 116.
 Weyman, Rev. Robert, 35.
 Wharton, Rev. Dr. Charles Henry, 25-30, 106, 108, 109, 165, 178-184.
 Wharton, Samuel, 168.
 White, Edward, 118.
 White, Judge Thomas, 64, 117.
 White, Rt. Rev. William, 27-28, 30, 66, 93n, 107, 120, 141, 164-165, 180-182.
 Whiteclay Creek, 18, 24, 36, 183, 101, 144, 146, 179.
 Whitefield, Rev. George, 76, 110-116, 164.
 Whitemarsh, 23.
 Wicacoa, 96, 107.
 William and Mary, 154.
 Williams, Dunck, 154.
 Wilmington, 96, 114, 116, 182-184.
 Wilmington Academy, 29, 164-166, 182-184.
 Wilson, Hugh, 60.
 Wilson, Matthew, 130.
 Wiltbank, Rev. James, 93.
 Wiltbank, John, 87, 142, 173.
 Windrussea, Rev. Andrew, 35.
 Wood, Joseph, 19.
 Woolf, Reece, 173.

Worcester County, Md., 95.
—All Hallows Parish, 82.
Wynkoop, Benjamin, 61.
Wynkoop, Esther, 142.
Wynkoop, Jacob, 142.

Y

Yeo, Rev. John, 5, 6.

York, duke of, laws respecting education, 153.
York, Penna., 163.

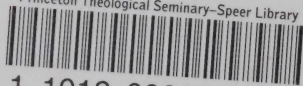
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Zinzendorf, Count, 111.

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